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6° SKETCHES
OF
THE PROGRESS OF CIVILISATION
AND
PUBLIC LIBERTY;

WITH
A VIEW OF THE POLITICAL CONDITION OF EUROPE
AND AMERICA IN 1848.

BY JOHN MACGREGOR, M. P.

“LE TEMPS AVANCE AU MILIEU DES ORAGES, VOULOIR ARRÊTER SON IMPÉTUOSITÉ SERAIT UN VAIN EFFORT.”—*Paroles attribuées à M. le Prince de Metternich, par M. l'Abbé de Pradt.*

LONDON:
WHITTAKER AND CO., AVE-MARIA LANE.

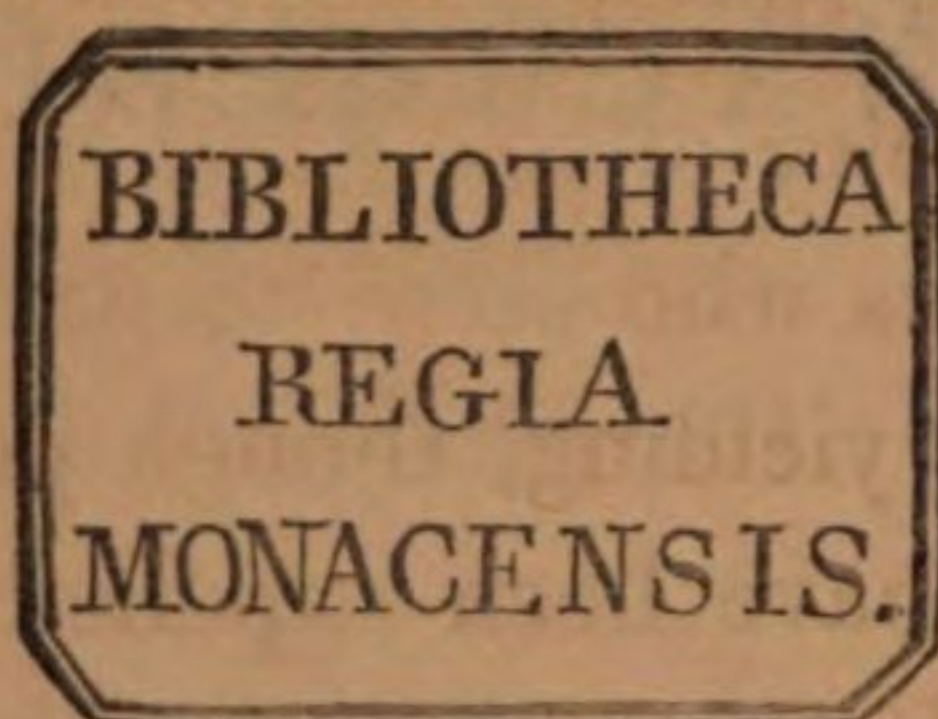
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ANGLO-SAXON—SPANISH—FRENCH AND PORTUGUESE AMERICA—AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA
 —ITALY—RUSSIA—POLAND—TURKEY—GREECE—SWEDEN—NORWAY AND DENMARK
 —HOLLAND AND BELGIUM—FRANCE—GERMAN DIET—BRITISH EMPIRE, &c.



P R E F A C E.

IN Germany, in the Austrian Empire, in France, and in the Italian, and others of the Continental States of Europe, we have during the first few months of the year 1848, beheld the *commencement of the beginning* of the effects, resulting from the folly of those rulers, who seem to have been incapable of being instructed by History.

When Napoleon was departing for Elba he said in bitterness of spirit "*Ce n'est pas la Coalition qui m'a détrôné—ce sont les idées libérales.*" It was not a Confederation of the States of Europe that drove the mighty conqueror from the throne. It was the power of those *liberal ideas* which he had scorned to adopt. Alluding to his re-establishing himself in power he said "*Je ne puis pas me rétablir, j'ai choqué les peuples.*" He could not possibly re-establish himself. He had *insulted all the people*. He had outraged the public opinion of all nations. He afterwards uttered an expression which might serve for his epitaph "*J'ai péché contre les idées libérales et je meurs.*" "I sinned," said he, "against liberal ideas, and I have perished."

"*Le Temps avance au milieu des orages, vouloir arrêter son impétuosité, ce serait un vain effort ;*" meaning, that public liberty could not be arrested in its progress. Such was the opinion of Prince de Metternich about thirty years ago, as contained in a despatch to Baron von Berstett. It would have been fortunate if the emperor had profited by the sagacity of his minister.

Those sovereigns and ministers who seem to have retained their power after the events of February, 1848, by yielding, though perhaps too late, to the *power of liberal ideas*, and those who have been expelled from their country by the stern laws of necessity, and by the sovereignty of public opinion, are examples, which may well stand forth as a warning to all others ; especially to all those who are not yet guided by that forecast of the future, which ought to convince them, that the old order of things is not compatible with that indomitable march of civilisation, and that rapid development of intellectual power, which will not long submit to any except to an equitable distribution of the public burdens and a just share of all civil and political rights.

The spirit of the age would not, even in Russia, *now* tolerate the Czar Peter, were he to come forth with axe in hand, chopping off the heads of his soldiers. "*Quid leges sine moribus.*"

May we in the United Kingdom profit, in time, by the experience of the past, as well as by the aspects of the present. Let us reflect upon *cause and effect* in studying the history of events, and we shall, with as conclusive a certainty

as that of a mathematical corollary, be assured, *that of all the evil causes which produce disastrous effects, none have ever been, or ever can be, more fatal than that absence of sagacity and judgment, in legislation and in government, which disregards public opinion.* We mean that public opinion which is created,—not by mere sudden incidents of *fear*, or *hope*, but, by the indomitable progress of civilisation, and the sound diffusion of all useful knowledge—including moral and political science. For upon this disregard to intelligent public opinion, and upon the shallows of arrogated, however antiquated, historical rights, and of the *prestige of right of any one class of THE EXCLUSIVE FEW to power, irrespective of the COMMONWEAL of the MANY*, have been wrecked almost every government, and every ruler, and minister, who have been discomfited—who have perished.

It will, indeed, be wise for those who consider themselves statesmen among ourselves, if they will study history as the *Egeria* which teaches wisdom by experience. If they do not—*their power will irretrievably vanish before the intelligence and wisdom of the age.*

At no period of the history of this country, has “THE CONDITION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM QUESTION” claimed more attentive and more serious consideration than it does at this very time.

Taking the British Empire with the magnitude and complication of its moral, political, and material interests, and the enormity of its taxation and expenditure, that minister has but feeble claims to the ability of a wise administrator,—little of the magnanimous patriot,—and less of the sagacious statesman, who does not rise above the prejudices of his education, and the pretensions of his class, when great events have changed the political aspect of the empires and states of Europe,—*when the people of these kingdoms are harassed by unequal, and burdensome, taxes,—and when the real dangers of the state arise,—not from without, but, from any further procrastination of a thorough reform in the system of taxation, and a real, and most assuredly practical, economy in the public expenditure.*

In making the above observations, and in the course of the following sketches, we are anxious that it should be understood that our remarks and comments are upon the proceedings, omissions, and acts of rulers, administrators, and statesmen, as such; without any invidious feeling or reference to their personal characters: for, we hold it as a maxim, *that it is a political immorality, in a public writer or speaker, to use the vile weapons of abusive personalities.* We also believe that there is no truer index to the absence of common sense, practical wisdom, and sound judgment,—no sign more certain of puerility of mind, and of the utter want of magnanimity of sentiment, than that of personal virulence, either artistically, satirically, or invidiously, which is too often too lengthily exhibited by public writers and speakers; and even within the walls of Parliament, where no man should ever enter except for the discharge of that solemn and responsible duty which by the fact of his election he owes to the people, and to the country.

S K E T C H E S,

&c., &c.

BRIEF REMARKS ON THE PROGRESS AND EPOCHS OF CIVILISATION, WITH REFERENCE TO THE PRESENT SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITION OF EUROPE AND AMERICA.

I.—PROGRESS OF CIVILISATION.

IT is an infallible TRUTH THAT THE HISTORY OF NAVIGATION AND COMMERCE IS THE HISTORY OF CIVILISATION.

There is much truth in the *dictum* of HELVETIUS when he asserted, “That if the hands of man were formed like the hoofs of a horse, he would have never attained more intelligence than that animal.” The assertion appears startling; but had Providence been less bountiful to man;—if man had hoofs instead of hands, he must have existed in a naked state,—he would have no place of shelter but caverns or forests,—and he must have subsisted upon vegetables and other raw substances. It is scarcely possible that he could have caught either fish, fowls, or quadrupeds. He would possibly have devoured reptiles and insects, as well as both roots and fruits. Arts, sciences, the power of civilisation, and learning, he never could have attained. There would have been no towns, roads, houses, agriculture, arts, carriages, or ships.

It is therefore, to the adaptation of the hand of man, by his Creator, to labour and manipulation, directed by the intellectual gifts of perception,—of acquiring knowledge,—of judgment and of reason, that we owe our inventions, our agriculture, our arts, our manufactures, our navigation, our means of intercourse, and our commerce. The superior intellect, the powers of reason and speech, with which God has blessed man, would have been of the most imperfect use if his hands were not so admirably formed, as to constitute the original mechanism, which has enabled him to make all other instruments, by the aid of which he has accomplished all that has been fabricated in the world. Hence labour, industriously and skilfully applied, constitutes the source of the wealth of individuals and of nations.

The progress of civilisation, traced from man in his rude state, accompanies the march of the intelligence, which is acquired first, by fabricating necessary, and afterwards convenient, or luxurious things: second, by the intercourse of

mankind caused by mutual wants and gratifications. Hence arise the wealth, power, and civilisation of communities.

The natural inclination of all mankind, in a rude state, is indolence, and an absence of forecast in providing for the future. In this respect the bee, the squirrel, and the beaver, are more industrious and provident. But there are races, among which individuals arise with powers of mind, so far superior to that of the communities among which they have been born, that their perceptions have discovered means for ameliorating the rude state of uninstructed man; and who have, by force of character and wisdom, directed some races, more rapidly than others, into that progress which has formed their advance, by degrees,—from the savage or rude state, in which man has first subsisted on the produce of hunting, fishing, and of wild herbs, roots, and fruits,—to the pastoral and agricultural state; and, thence, always accompanied, more or less, by both the latter, into the discovery of the more simple arts, manufactures, and sciences—to the pursuits of navigation, of trade—to learning, intelligence, and to the higher arts and sciences. Self-discipline, and virtue, must necessarily accompany and direct this progress: the result of which is civilisation, originated by the elements of commercial intercourse: that is to say, commodities, either rude, or highly manufactured, produced by ingenuity, art, and taste, and called into existence by the demands of necessity, convenience, or luxury. The exchange of commodities is accompanied by the exchange of ideas. These become more extended, with the spread of enterprise, and the buying and selling of the commodities produced, or made, by the people of one country to the people, or in the markets, of other countries. Trade requires pacific relations. Peaceable and frequent intercourse engenders mutual civility, which gradually impresses society with the practice, and the power, as well as the desire, of exercising good manners. These generate politeness, which, with knowledge, truth, and justice, constitute social civilisation. Luxury and voluptuousness, arising from the accumulation of wealth, and, as under the Medici, the exercise of despotism,—and the absence of civil liberty and religious freedom, have no doubt pervaded, and in most cases have prevailed during periods of high civilisation. *There is no greater fallacy than to confound civilisation, under all governments, with civil liberty.* The age of the Medici, and the Borgias, and of Louis XIV., were brilliant epochs of civilisation, of arts, of learning and science; but neither civil liberty, nor religious freedom, existed during those periods in either Italy or France.

Among the rude inhabitants,—the swineherds, and hunters, of the German forests, there was almost perfect civil liberty,—in the absence of arts and sciences, and nearly of trade, or manufactures, or any of the elements, which are considered as forming the great framework of civilisation.

Among the Hurons, Iroquois, and other barbarous nations of hunters in North America, there appeared, within each nation, perfect civil liberty.

In luxurious and more civilised Mexico, the emperor was absolute, and not to be questioned in his rule: the priests were terrible in their religious domination, and in their sacrifices.

That social and political state of communities, in which the greatest happiness is attained, to which human nature is adapted, can only exist when the people are so well educated, in moral and political science, and of such wise judgment, as to appreciate so thoroughly, the blessings of civil liberty and religious freedom, that they, at the same time, make, or consent to, the regulations which restrain one man from perverting that liberty, to the injury of the property, or person, of another man:—that is freedom without anarchy: constituting *society*, or a *people*, whose affairs are administered by a wise, equal, just, mild, yet energetic government. Under such government, civilisation, in its highest degree, and true civil liberty, and religious freedom, would be thoroughly compatible. But such intelligence and such government have never yet existed. The progress of education, the wonderful power of scientific invention, and that celerity and freedom of intercourse between the nations of the earth,—freedom of personal intercourse, and of the interchange of commodities, which navigation and the steam-engine have, during a late period of the world's history, rendered irresistible, will, no doubt, rapidly advance nations towards that state of civilisation and intelligence, and that civil and religious liberty, which can exist practically and happily together.

But, that there are races and nations, which do not move onward in this progress as rapidly, or as securely, as other races do, is a mere truism. Some nations have made great advances in civilisation, and others have either remained stationary, or have deteriorated. The Chinese appear to be exactly in the same state of civilisation as, probably less moral than, when Marco Polo and Duhalde travelled among them. Of the Mahomedans, the Arabs are the most energetic among the people of India; the Parsees are the most bold, capable, and most successful in maritime and commercial enterprise. In Europe and America, the character of the Anglo-Saxon race combines the greatest spirit of adventure with steady application to productive industry, and to maritime and commercial pursuits. The French are more brilliant in manners, language, and deeds,—the Germans slower, but more solid in their speech and acts,—and practical, unless bewildered in the mists of the Philosophy of Idealism.

II.—EPOCHS OF CIVILISATION.

RAYNAL says “*Les peuples qui ont poli tous les autres ont été commercans.*” The nations who have civilised all the others have been commercial. Tyre and Sidon originated the colonisation, commerce, and maritime power of Carthage; the latter established its power and its commerce in Spain, and explored its mines of silver

The Egyptians became, from their geographical situation, and by the abundance which the fertility of their soil yielded, also a commercial nation. The Greeks, inhabiting a country, the soil of which was stubborn, but the position of which and its harbours, were favourable to navigation, became a maritime, commercial, and highly civilised people. Rome conquered nations, but respected the industry, and the commerce of the vanquished governments. The arts and commerce were carried by the Greeks to the highest point, which the intelligence of mankind, at that period of the world's history, seems to have admitted. The policy of the Greeks tended to unite the nations of the world by maritime and commercial intercourse ; which would necessarily have conveyed, at the same time, to barbarous countries, the arts and the civilisation of the people, who were at that period, the most polished and intelligent in Europe—probably in the world.

The Roman policy and spirit of conquest, were directed to bind nations under the same yoke of absolute bondage. The people of that empire were oppressed by despotism, exorbitant taxation, and a military government, all which finally led to the extinction of learning in Italy,—degraded the inhabitants, opened easy conquests to the *Attilas*, and brought on the dark age of Europe. Rome had, however, at an early period, its college of merchants, and its commercial laws ; and Italy, especially Magna Græcia and Sicily, must have carried on to a considerable extent manufactures, trade, and navigation, about the era of the birth of Christ. Herculaneum and Pompeii have afforded, and still supply, abundant evidence that such was the fact. The very luxuries indulged in by the rich were necessarily supplied by industry and commerce. Marseilles was a trading port of magnitude in the time of Julius Cæsar ; at which period some of the western coasts of Europe were not destitute of fishing craft, and of vessels engaged in trade. In no country have the inhabitants of the sea coasts been long without discovering the means of floating upon the waters, and of pursuing and capturing the animals living in the sea. Nor was the commerce of Europe destroyed, even by the overthrow of the whole Roman Empire, by the Goths, Vandals, and other barbarous nations. In fact, the necessities of the great majority of the people have, in all ages and countries, prevailed, however slowly, against those impediments to industry, commerce, and the arts, that are inseparable from the military spirit, and from the feudal system, which the conquering nations had established in Western and Central Europe, and in all Europe, after the final overthrow of the Eastern Empire by the Turks.

The daring system of maritime piracy which succeeded the downfall of the Roman power gave rise, in western Europe, to the Hanseatic league in 1190.

It was, in 1184, six years before the Hanseatic league was originated, that the Venetians were allowed to build warehouses, for the Levant and Oriental trade, at Constantinople ; and, from that period the latter became so great an emporium for the trade of the Indies, that in 1190 it was only second, as a commercial mart to Bagdad.

It is usually contended that the navigation, commerce, and civilisation of western Europe are chiefly to be attributed to the effects produced by the Crusades. This assumption is but partially true. The crusaders, who returned to western Europe, were no doubt influenced so far, by the splendour of oriental customs and luxuries, that they acquired a desire to live in a less rude state; and the traders who followed the crusaders, for protection, and to supply the armies, as undoubtedly profited by the circumstances of the times. The expenses incurred by the crusaders rendered it necessary for them to sell part of their lands. *This transfer of part of the soil, from those who had, to those who never had before any interest in its possession, nor yet in any military or baronial pretension,—and, the municipal privileges which were obtained by cities from the crown, either for money, or to strengthen the sovereign against the barons, tended to encroach upon, and gradually to enfeeble, and at last to undermine, the feudal system.* These changes, and the general progress of events, imparted spirit and power to maritime and commercial enterprise. The oriental trade carried on by the Venetians and others by way of Aleppo, the Persian and Arabian gulfs, and other routes,—the commerce of western Europe,—the establishment of fairs,—the invention of bills of exchange,—the fabrics,—and the fisheries of western Europe—had consequently acquired great expansion and celebrity before the end of the fifteenth century. But a great revolution in the channels of trade occurred soon afterwards, followed rapidly by results unprecedented in magnitude and power.

The discovery of America by Columbus, in 1492, and the almost equally great discovery—that of sailing round Africa, to the eastern Indies, by Vasco de Gama, formed an era that gave a new and more adventurous direction to the ambition of European nations; and, while the consequent passion of enterprise sent bold spirits to the vast regions and seas discovered in the West, and to the South and East, fresh explorations enriched the sciences—and, from that period, geography, astronomy, and navigation, became more practically, and more usefully known.

The beginning of the fifteenth century—the epoch preceding the discovery of the western world, and of the first voyage, accomplished by sea, to the oriental Indies—may well be considered the great advent of European regeneration. It was at this period that the people, and the intellect, of Europe manifested a decided reaction from a state of degradation, below which mankind could not have been brutalised, either by ecclesiastical terror, or baronial tyranny. Charles VII., and Louis XI., were among the first princes who exercised their authority, in humbling the power, and checking the licentiousness, of the barons. The church, in the assumption of universal, temporal as well as spiritual, power, had long disregarded both in practice and in precept, the simple and beautiful doctrines of primitive Christianity; and imposed, instead, over the human mind, a most darkening absolutism, and a most passive obedience. It was the glaring wickedness of the papal exactions that brought forth Luther—it was the vices of

the clergy that rendered inevitable a Reformation :—which, even in that great division of the Christian world that did not abandon its doctrines, nor change its ceremonies, tended greatly to purify the Romish church itself of its *simony* and immoralities ; and, finally, to render its ecclesiastics, in moral character, as they were afterwards known to be, and are now found to be, among the most exemplary of pastors.

But amidst all the barbarous turmoils of Europe, during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, we find that it was the fisheries, the navigation, and the trade which had struggled through the middle ages, that originated the spirit of liberty and intelligence which has civilised Europe—that is civilising, and will civilise, the whole world. It was to enjoy freedom that the fishermen, who founded Venice, fled from the northern barbarians, to sterile, sandy, or marshy islands in the Adriatic ; that the fishermen and traders of the Low Countries founded, in a country, difficult of access, and without minerals or building materials, the navigation, fleets, and commerce of Holland. The extension of maritime voyages, and trading intercourse, created for defence and freedom that Hanseatic league, which destroyed the pirates who ravaged the Atlantic coasts and the shores of the Baltic. The Florentine merchant-princes were the first to revive the arts and learning in Italy. The discovery of the powers of the magnet was successfully applied to navigation ; and by this wonderful and certain guide, in traversing the ocean with confidence, the Venetians, Genoese, Florentines, and Pisans, were emboldened to extend their voyages to unusual distances, and to send trading adventurers to the ports of western Europe. The Portuguese became also, in consequence, a maritime power. England, from her position, her wants, and her products, and in consequence of the descents of the Northmen, began to share early in navigation and trade ; but the bloody contests for sovereign power—the wars with Scotland—the wars and the turbulence of government in Ireland—and the ignorance, or the selfishness, of the British sovereigns and barons, until after the reign of Henry VII., retarded that progress of maritime discovery and power, and of commercial enterprise, which has advanced in, from, and with Great Britain, far more rapidly since that period, than can elsewhere be found in the records of history.

A most remarkable coincidence of events distinguishes the period which followed the application of the magnet to the mariner's compass, and the age which immediately commenced after the discovery of America, and of the East Indies by Sea. During this epoch gunpowder and the art of printing were both invented ; ancient learning, the arts and sciences, were revived ; a powerful and successful resistance to the papal authority was declared ; and the balance of power among princes became a leading policy in Europe. The conquests and extraordinary progress and dominions of the Spaniards in America, of the Jesuits, and Portuguese in Brazil,—of the French in Canada, Cape Breton, Nova

Scotia, and the West Indies,—of the Puritans, and others of British race in the New England and southern colonies of North America, and in Jamacia when taken from the Spaniards. The commencement and establishment of the Anglo-Indian empire constitute another remarkable period in the progress of civilisation. The great events of these epochs were, however, mixed up, with much of cruelty, injustice, and tyranny, both monarchical, ecclesiastical, military, and predatory.

The loss of the French possessions in North America, and the degeneration of the Spaniards, in Mexico and South America, have next led to great consequences, constituting another and most remarkable epoch in the progress of mankind.

Of these consequences, none are so extraordinary, or so indomitable, in its progress, as the advance, and domination, of those who speak the English language over the American regions. In 1759, when Wolfe fought the battle of Quebec, no one of English parentage, or race, possessed a single acre of land of the vast territories, within, or bounded by, the gulf, rivers, or great lakes of the St. Lawrence, or of those magnificent rivers and tributaries west of the Alleghany mountains. France possessed or claimed a right to all the countries between the mouth of the Mississippi and that of the St. Lawrence. All those west of the Alleghanies, and watered or drained by the Mississippi, Missouri, Ohio, and their great branches. Those who speak the language of the Anglo-Saxon race, now possess, or exercise authority, from the Gulf of Mexico to Hudson's Bay,—from the mouths of the St. Lawrence to that of the Columbia,—from the easternmost islands and the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Pacific—a portion of Mexico excepted.

III.—EFFECTS OF THE AMERICAN AND FIRST FRENCH REVOLUTIONS.

It was a fact well known, that, from the time France lost Canada, secret intrigues were put in operation by that government, for the purpose of shaking the allegiance of the British American colonists. That they aided, though feebly, in carrying on the revolutionary war, is certain; but other causes, infinitely more powerful, influenced the British colonists, and enabled them finally to establish their independence.

The inhabitants of the four New England provinces were, principally, the descendants of those stubborn republicans, who fled from England to enjoy their own ideas of politics and religion. They retained the hatred of their ancestors to hereditary kingly authority, and the strongest aversion to any endowed hierarchy: especially to the Church of England. These people were the life and prime support of that opposition, which did not abate until America was lost to Great Britain.

The inhabitants of the other colonies were more moderate, yet equally ready

to defend or recover their civil and religious liberties; and the great majority, especially in Virginia and Maryland, were men of respectable rank and character, hitherto of a loyal turn, and warmly attached to the mother country.

In fact, the colonies were chiefly peopled with spirited, intelligent, and enterprising individuals, of all denominations, who, at the peace of 1763, generally acquired wealth, by uncommon prosperity in their commercial pursuits,—self-reliance by the success,—and just pride by the brilliancy, of their military achievements. Their education, experience, and disposition, prepared them for great undertakings; and it was difficult to limit their confidence, hopes, and expectations. It must, at the same time, be remembered, that they used all the means that ingenuity, guided by interest, and, that wisdom, directed by truth, could suggest, in their remonstrances to the ruling powers, and in their petitions to the King and Parliament, before they assumed the language of defiance, or set up the standard of revolt.

But the monarch in his obstinacy, and the ministers in their folly, still disregarded their representations, and treated their petitions with disdain; and a reconciliation was only, at last, seriously attempted, when the colonists had thoroughly committed themselves, as revolutionists, and gained those extraordinary advantages which insured their independence.

Every appeal and remonstrance from the colonists to the sovereign being disregarded, the evil star of Britain gained the ascendancy, and ministers involved the world in a war, that will be for ever memorable, in the history of nations who have effected independence, of their former rulers, and in its reaction upon the political and social affairs of Europe and America.

From the commencement of hostilities to the peace, which acknowledged the independence of the United States, the energy, perseverance, and wisdom of the republican leaders, and the strange mixture of despotism, obstinacy, weakness, vacillation, and folly, of the British cabinet, are equally extraordinary.*

It is the opinion of many that the conciliatory plan proposed by the Earl of Chatham would have saved America.

The celebrated plan of Mr. Burke, supported by his eloquent and sound arguments, together with the appeals and remonstrances of the people of England and America, were equally disregarded; and New England, with all the southern states, convinced of unjust treatment, and fired with indignation, were animated with that inflexible resistance, bravery, and patriotism which finally accomplished their independence.

The assistance afforded the Americans by France, was from far different motives than those which are directed by a republican spirit, or by the virtuous admiration of either civil or religious freedom. Any attempt to abridge the

* It would almost seem reasonable to conclude, that the ministry were governed by feelings similar to those expressed by Dr. Johnson, when he said, "Sir, they are a race of convicts, and ought to be thankful for any thing we allow them short of hanging."

supremacy of an European government over her colonies, was any thing but agreeable to the ideas always entertained at the court of Versailles. On this occasion, their grand policy was to humble the power of Great Britain at home, by disintegrating her empire in America. The consequence, however mortifying to England, was disastrous and terrible to France; and prepared combustibles which exploded in all the horrors of the Revolution, and opened a theatre for the splendid victories, the absolute despotism, and the final downfall of Napoleon.

The officers sent to America by France, carried back high revolutionary principles and feelings, which were afterwards ingrafted on the philosophy of the Academy. These materials soon unfolded themselves, by subverting the whole royal government and constitution, accompanied by outrages and calamities which shocked and disquieted all the nations of Europe and America.

In all Europe, the minds of men were predisposed to advocate the principles of liberty, first promulgated by the French politicians.

The brilliant success of the American revolution had dazzled the gravest thinkers, and realised the visions of the most sanguine worshippers of freedom. The wise system of government adopted in, and so peculiarly adapted to the people, and to the *moral, social, and educational* condition of the Anglo-American republic, had satisfied all the rational and prudent: unless it were the few, who possessed hereditary power and special privileges in church, state, and person.

Liberty, in truth, is so undeniably the birthright of mankind—so evidently the natural free gift of Heaven, that, not only all who have never known its blessings, but even those who have scarcely a hope ever to enjoy its possession, will, when the sacred principles of freedom are once advocated by a people, earnestly pray for the success of those who have courage to assert this common right of all men.

The very idea of public freedom is so endearing to the human bosom, that whenever the people solemnly, and with fearless determination, as the Americans did, take up arms either to defend or to recover their rights, they are certain of the open applause of all who dare express it, and the secret approbation of those, by whom its avowal is suppressed by arbitrary power.

Combating, with honest patriotism, for freedom, those who hazard their lives and fortunes are the champions of mankind, fighting for the universal benefit of society. They are the benefactors,—not, like those renowned in history, and rewarded by princes as conquerors, the destroyers of the human race. The predilections of all who behold the strife, are engaged in their behalf; and tyrants, with their supporters, become objects of scorn and hatred.

The Americans declared, “that when, in the course of human events, it became necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have con-

nected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitled them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind, required that they should declare the causes which led to their separation.

"That they held these truths to be self-evident ; that all men are created *equal*—that they are endowed by the *Creator with certain unalienable rights**—that among these are *life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness*—that to secure these rights *governments* are instituted among men, deriving *their powers* from the consent of *the governed*—that whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to *alter, or to abolish it*, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organising its power in such forms, as to them shall seem most likely to secure their safety and happiness."

The Americans carried into wise execution the determination thus so rationally and so intrepidly declared. The atrocities, of the French revolutionists, were celebrated and perpetrated in the name of *liberty* and *reason*. Horrible profanation ! The *visionaries* of a revolution, grounded on what was termed philosophy, was not confined to France. The Parisian philosophers had imitators : at the head of whom was the royal freethinker of *Sans Souci*, surrounded by his Gallic adulators. Those philosophers had, before the revolution broke out in Paris, created in Europe the habit of scoffing at religion, and at the superstitious evils of Christianity. Frederick, although in government absolute, was, after Voltaire, the very prince of those men who persuaded themselves, and endeavoured to convince the world, that all social evils, and religious absurdities, sprang from Christianity alone, without ever seeming to consider, that the passion for power and wealth, in the strong and crafty, and the fears and superstitions of the weak and ignorant, were the causes to which the evils they denounced and ridiculed, were to be attributed ; and which might be based with equal results upon the Hindoo, Hebrew, Mahommedan, or any other religion, having in its organisation, that most awful auxiliary and support of tyranny—the government and power of a mighty hierarchy.

To these opinions of religion, the speculative politicians added, that all our administrative abuses, and the consequent evils which harassed society, were to be attributed to established governments : this accusation was not easily to be disputed, although those who held the power of ruling states were far more to be condemned than the particular forms of government. To destroy Christianity and the existing systems of monarchy and oligarchy, was, therefore, the expedient proposed by the speculative politicians of the French revolutionary school, as the only *panacea* to heal all social maladies. They had, certainly, in their favour,

* The unfortunate black mixed race are, however, denied the benefit of these blessings.

all the formidable arguments that could be furnished by the utmost oppression, to which a monarchy, a noblesse, and an ecclesiastical tyranny could subject and degrade people; but they failed from the impracticability of their unsound principles.

IV.—MODERN POLITICAL CONDITION OF EUROPE & AMERICA.

CHAP. I.

ANGLO-SAXON—SPANISH—FRENCH—AND PORTUGUESE AMERICA.

NOTWITHSTANDING the encomium of Burke on the French colonial system, the power of France has disappeared in the western hemisphere. For these vestiges of the French possessions in America, the islands of Guadaloupe, and Martinique, Cayenne, and a couple of fishing rocks, near the coast of Newfoundland, possess no great value or importance as colonies.* The Dutch still possess a part of Guayana and Curaçoa. Both unimportant.

Portugal has lost the magnificent, fertile, and mismanaged regions of Brazil. The Portuguese people, however, still maintain themselves under the only crowned head established and residing in America. But in either a political, military, or naval point of consideration, Brazil is of minor power and consideration. Spanish and Anglo-Saxon America remain.

The magnificent possessions of the first discoverers and conquerors of America have effected independence of royal authority. The islands of Cuba and Porto Rico forming, indeed, fertile and splendid exceptions. The independence of the Spanish colonies, on the continent of America, was the natural effect of a degrading tyranny and a ruinous commercial system.

The republics of Mexico and of Central and of South America, exhibit in their political, moral, social, productive, and commercial condition, an extraordinary contrast to the progress and present state of the great Anglo-American Republic.

It was the misfortune of the former to have been, previously to their independence, ruled, or rather awed into passive obedience, by the most darkening, monarchical, and ecclesiastical government: a government and hierarchy that grew up and acquired strength, during centuries of ignorance, tyranny, bigotry, and intolerance: under a government, and a church, that profited not by the march of modern civilisation, and religious liberty; but that enchained the freedom of written, and spoken language, and the expansion of the intellectual faculties.

The history of the Spanish colonies is not celebrated by examples of that persevering, laborious, and enduring character,—animated, and cherished, and

* We have given ample details of the English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch colonies in another work, "*The Progress of America from the Discovery by Columbus to the Year 1847.*"

supported by the spirit and the love, of civil and religious liberty, which so eminently distinguished the Pilgrim Fathers, the Quakers, and even the British Roman Catholics,—who first encountered and overcame all the privations, difficulties, and dangers of the American wilderness.

The character and conduct of the conquerors and colonists of Spanish America, and of their civil and ecclesiastical government, ever afterwards, present a contrast, which, on becoming independent of Spanish authority, rendered the moral, intellectual, and even physical character of the people, and of those who were called upon to rule, incompatible with intelligent, tolerant government,—with impartial justice,—and with civil and religious liberty.

The colonial policy of Spain was selfish, intolerant, restrictive, and fallacious, from the foundation of the first settlement, in Hayti, until the expulsion of Spanish power from the continent of America.

This policy excluded all but Spaniards from those regions, and confined the trade to a direct intercourse with Spain. Agriculture was discouraged, in order that Spain might possess the monopoly of supplying with food all the people of the vast territory conquered, by her adventurers, in the West. Spain, haughty and intolerant, based her commercial and colonial system, on possessing and securing within herself all articles of necessity—all kinds of luxury—all the materials of wealth—all the elements of power. First, by prohibiting the entrance for home consumption of the products of any country, except those of her colonial empire; and secondly, by forcing the latter to consume no manufactured article, and none of food, except those exported from certain ports in Spain. This pernicious legislation was grounded on the specious policy,—that, as all the precious metals would necessarily be transported to the mother country, they would remain in Spain, if they were not required to pay for foreign commodities; that the precious metals constituted riches; and that wealth constituted power.

But in defiance of this fallacious policy, the gold, silver, and precious stones flowed off to foreign countries, both from the colonies and from Spain, nearly as rapidly as they were robbed from the natives of Hayti, Mexico, and Peru,—or drawn from the mines, by the millions of American and African slaves, who have been exterminated, under the cruel toils to which they were, by avarice and tyranny, doomed.

The effects which resulted from the Spanish conquests, in the islands, and on the continent of America, are remarkable. Into no country did such immense treasures flow as into Spain. In no country was there so little money to be found, either in circulation, or in the royal treasury. There was neither order nor economy in the finances of the government, nor in the expenditure of individuals. Money was borrowed at usury. The gold and silver, which the galleons brought annually to Cadiz from the New World, did not suffice to pay the debts

which Spain owed in the Old. Agriculture, at home and in the colonies, was despised and neglected. Other branches of industry decayed, and several disappeared altogether. The Indies, instead of strengthening the power of Spain, rendered that monarchy gradually impotent in Europe. This poverty and weakness was chiefly caused by the genius of the Spanish policy. In order to retain conquests, the natives were exterminated. The spirit of government was tyranny,—the doctrine of the church was persecution,—the maxim of trade was monopoly. The long duration of those fallacies, rendered them, in Spanish wisdom, venerable. The Spaniards believed the precious treasures of the New World exhaustless. They imagined their power invincible. Their ambition and pride measured no limits. The consequent wars in Europe, and the retention of the Indies, diminished the number of inhabitants,—and demoralised the remaining population. The country became exhausted, by its decreased powers of production at home, and by the plunder of its fleets by the enemy. The Spanish troops were ever brave,—yet they were ill paid, badly fed, and wretchedly clothed. They were skilfully disciplined, and gallantly commanded,—but they were generally defeated. The people of the united provinces—of a mere fragment of Spanish dominion, a marsh, a débris of river deposits, and sea sand, assumed and effected independence,—and constructed fleets, which swept those of their former tyrants from off the ocean. Spain, by insulting, roused and organised the power of other nations. Of England and France, Spain was especially jealous. England, and afterwards Holland, became her most formidable naval rivals. The precious metals of America enervated the Spaniards. The spirit of industry, trade, and navigation, rendered the English and Dutch active, hardy, bold, and victorious.

The enterprising Anglo-Saxon colonists, who planted the new England and middle provinces of North America, were not slow in discovering profitable channels of commerce; and they soon commenced a very lucrative contraband trade with the Spanish settlements in Cuba, Mexico, and South America. It rapidly increased to a prodigious value and certain gain, by the interchange of all sorts of British manufactures for the precious metals and gems. These were nearly all remitted to England. A small part only was retained for a currency in the British plantations. The Spanish colonists gave all possible, illicit, encouragement to a commerce, which supplied them with the best articles, at half the price that were paid for those of the parent country. The Spanish colonial authorities contrived to share in the profits, and connived at a trade, which was undermining the whole commercial, manufacturing, and colonial policy of Spain. Colossal fortunes were made in two or three years by generals, intendants, and officers of revenue.

The Spanish monarchy, at length, to suppress this commerce, stationed a fleet of *guarda-costas* along the shores of Cuba, Porto-Rico, and the Gulf of

Mexico. The indiscriminate seizure of all British vessels, met with near those coasts, was the chief cause of the war of 1734 between Great Britain and Spain.

After the war, the contraband trade with the Spanish settlements was resumed with activity by the Anglo-American colonists, until the English government agreed to assist Spain in effectually suppressing it. British war-cruisers were directed to seize, in order to be confiscated, all British merchant vessels found near the shores of the Spanish colonies. The avidity and severity of the commanders of these cruisers nearly destroyed the trade, and formed one of the great causes of discontent which led to the American revolution. After the independence of the United States, the contraband trade with the Spanish colonies was resumed, and continued with extraordinary activity and success, both from the continental ports of Anglo-America, and from the Bermudas, Bahamas, and other places.

After the abolition of exclusive commercial companies, and the odious privileges of Seville and Cadiz, even distinguishing the Spanish American ports into *major* and *minor* ports, was considered a relief, accorded by the cedula of 1778, commonly called the "Free Trade (?) Cedula."

Spain, although unable either to export or manufacture the raw products of her colonies, would not allow the colonists legally to export or manufacture them, nor suffer foreigners to export raw materials. The only valve of escape, for buying and selling, was the contraband trade.

The edict of the 28th of February, 1784, established high differential duties upon importations from Spain; that is to say, between productions of the soil and manufactures, and the produce of foreign countries, manufactured in Spain, and between goods purely foreign: these duties amounted to more than forty-three per cent on foreign merchandise imported from Spain, all other importation being prohibited.

With regard to taxes, the aborigines were subjected to a capitation tax. The tithes were general, and shared by the king with the clergy. There were also taxes on the transfer of lands. Besides the general customs there were also municipal customs, to defray the expenses of the towns, and courts of justice, or *consolados*. The *puertos mayores*, or chief sea-port towns, paid both kinds of duties; in the *puertos menores*, the municipal duties only were paid. The duties which had been collected in a principal port were returned when the merchandise, on which it was levied, was despatched to a minor port; and *vice versâ*, when from a minor port, an exportation was made to a superior one, it was necessary, previously, to pay the duty which should be levied at such principal port, had the merchandise been sent there direct.

Among the taxes were, first, the *bulls*, whose annual sale was one great branch of the revenue of the crown, and of the clergy. Then came the *taxes* of *alcavala*, *almojarifazgo*, *armado*, and *armadilla*, of *internacion*, *indulto*, *corso*,

aprovechamientos ; the *licenses* of *pulperias* or *taverns*, of the *tafia* and the *guarapo*, duties of *aduanas*, *laguna*, *composition* for lands, on *letting* lands, of *lances*, of the *half annatas* ; in some provinces, a *part* of the *tithes*, in others, the *whole tithe* ; the *ecclesiastical mesadas*, and *royal ninths*, the tax levied on the *sale* or *change* of *public employments*, and that on the *profits* on *annual income* of those *places* or *employments* ; the *tribute* or *capitation tax* on the *Indians* ; *stamped paper*, the *right of passage*, the *fifths* of *mines*, the *hospitalities*, the *salt-works*, *confiscations*, *restitutions*, *vacant successions*, *vacant majorities* and *minorities*, the *exclusive sale* of *tobacco*, *cockfightings*, *passage-boats*, &c.

Although the ports of Spain, in the West Indies, and America, were opened to foreign trade in 1809, the old system of monopoly would have probably been renewed, at the peace, had not Spanish trade and industry been thoroughly paralysed before the year 1814. When the Spanish American republics achieved their independence of Spanish monarchical rule, the leading men, and the whole people, were not only ignorant of the true principles of trade and industry, but they retained, by tradition, and by habit, an hereditary attachment to all that was unsound in the old Spanish colonial policy, and to all that was bigoted in the church. Prejudices and bigotry are, alas ! not easily eradicated. This was especially true in regard to Mexico : and to this ignorance, and to this intolerance, may we assuredly ascribe the impotent condition of that naturally rich, and still extensive republic.

We need not, after this brief statement, be surprised that Spain lost her colonies : and, when we examine the systems of finance, commerce, and administration of Spain, we can readily account for the comparative powerless condition of that kingdom at the present time among the nations of Europe. In truth, Spain and Portugal, in the political scale, seem of no value, but as subjects for recriminations, and jealousies, of not the least importance to either England or France—or, in fact, to Europe. Spain, with all her elements of wealth, industry, commerce, navigation, and power, is, in the scale of nations, far less feeble than Holland. Spain occupies a surface nearly one-half greater than all the British isles, with a soil nearly capable of yielding, probably, double the value of agricultural produce. Spain has rich minerals of coal, iron, lead, quicksilver, and the precious metals, with an area eleven times as great as that of all the Dutch provinces. The climate of the latter is also cold and humid, and the soil without minerals, and without building materials. If Spain and Holland were now left to themselves, in the event of a warlike contention, which of the two nations would be the most likely to overcome the other ? At present, opinion would assuredly decide in favour of Holland. The example of these two nations is an elucidation of the power or weakness of countries, in consequence of the wisdom and industry, or the folly and negligence of man, in opposition to natural advantages or obstructions. Holland prospered

and attained power, under a system of religious, political, and commercial freedom. Spain has sunk to the lowest point of European degradation, under a religious and political despotism, and the most restrictive and prohibitive commercial laws. Spain has proven, hitherto, in consequence, impracticable in the administration of a constitutional government ; and unable to adjust either her financial or commercial laws—in short, as yet unfit to adapt her government and her institutions to the progress, the necessities, and the civilisation of the age. Yet there are good materials in Spain. They are not among those who are, or have been, in power. Not in Spain's *grandees*, or even *hidalgos* ; but in the *rural* and the industriously disposed of the *urban* people.*

In the present transition progress of Europe, neither Spain nor the Spanish American republics, nor Portugal, or yet Brazil can be left altogether out of the legislator's or statesman's estimate. In the western world, however, a country has grown up with gigantic bulk and vigour, whose destiny in the future must, in the indomitable magnitude of its progress and power, be so eminent that we cannot pass that empire unnoticed in its bearing upon the affairs of the age.

CHAP. II.

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN REPUBLIC.

IN comparing the government of the United States of America with that of other nations, we must remember that when the Anglo-American colonies declared their independence, their moral and physical condition was very different from that of all republics that had previously existed, or that have since arisen. The people were generally intelligent, their habits frugal and industrious ; and, unlike the Europeans of South America, their ideas were free from the thralldom of religious intolerance.

The abilities of the great men who conducted their assemblies were solid rather than brilliant ; practical rather than theoretical. They had the good sense and discrimination, notwithstanding their separation from the government of the mother country, to adopt the constitution and laws of the then most free government on earth, as the ground-work of theirs ; making a royal hereditary chief magistrate, a titled privileged nobility, and a national church establishment, the only remarkable exceptions.

Their immense territory, with soils yielding every production under heaven, and abounding in numerous navigable rivers and lakes, harbours, fisheries, woods, and minerals, placed all natural advantages within their immediate possession.

Their language and education enabled them to enjoy all the benefits of English knowledge and literature, without the labour or expense of translation,

* We may still say with Byron, when describing the Spanish struggle against the bigot and despot—Ferdinand—

“ All there was noble but nobility ;
None hugged the tyrant's chains—but fallen chivalry.”

or paying for copyrights. They had also the earliest advantage of discoveries in the arts and sciences, without restrictions as to the rights of patents.

With the peculiar good fortune of being governed, at that critical period, by honest men, they had the knowledge of all ages and countries to guide them.

Possessing, therefore, such extraordinary advantages, the Anglo-Americans were enabled to avoid most of the blunders committed by those republics that had before their independence been subject to governments and laws : which, growing up, from their birth in the feudal ages, during centuries of bigotry, intolerance, tyranny, and ignorance, down to periods of liberality and intelligence were consequently in a social, moral, and educational condition, ignorant of the principles and the practical enjoyment of wise legislation, equal justice, religious freedom, and personal liberty.

The democratic form of the American government arose as much from necessity as from any predilection which the leading men of the time cherished for it. No person could claim sovereign right. The wealth of the country was too equally divided to give any one individual the means, if it were possible, either of corruption, or of an overwhelming share of power. If any one could be invested with kingly authority, Washington stood the highest. But that virtuous and great man was so truly pure, that he soared far above all the sublunary vanity of being more than a good citizen, and he surrendered all his power, the moment that he had achieved freedom for his country, and for his fellow-men. His ambition was to be considered the benefactor, not the destroyer of the human race. Stars orders, titles, were, indeed, baubles, in the estimation of a being, in whose heart benevolence reigned,—in whose head wisdom and judgment were predominant. Far above the Alexanders and Cæsars,—the Marlboroughs and the Condés,—the Napoleons and the Wellingtons, will stand the name, and rank the fame, of George Washington, in the mind of every good man, and in the sentiment of every virtuous heart,—in all ages to come,—so long as the nations of the earth shall have their history written. There existed at that period a constellation of extraordinary men, distinguished for wisdom, knowledge, judgment, and practical ability. Among them Franklin, Jefferson, Adams, Hancock, Hamilton, Madison, Jay, ranked high as philosophers, lawgivers, and statesmen.

The constitution and laws of the new government were, as nearly as possible, accommodated to the ideas of the people, and to the former order of government.

The different states retained their representative governments, much the same as before the revolution, with the power of making laws for their internal administration, but all the states were united under one general or federal government.

This head or supreme power was formed of three branches, or estates—the President, the Senate, and House of Representatives. The problem for time to resolve was and is, whether this form of government possesses, within itself,

the power of carrying into execution the laws which are necessary for the protection and security of persons and property, and for the orderly maintenance of civil liberty.*

The advance of the Anglo-Saxons over the continent and islands of America has no precedent in the magnitude of its indomitable progress: which gains strength as it grows, and in another work, devoted to America, we have remarked that whether the Anglo-Saxon power shall continue to be wielded by two governments, as at present—the British and the great Anglo-American republic; or whether, as is most probable, it will hereafter separate into many. Yet the people speaking, and reading, and legislating, and governing in the use of the English language, appears to have a destiny in the progress of the future as they have had in the past, which neither policy nor diplomacy can prevent—which circumstances will as surely accelerate as physical elements move the great bodies that revolve in the heavens until that progress shall present to future generations, in each region of North and South America, its natural certain effect. *That effect will inevitably be, that the legislation and literature will be written,—the debates spoken,—the arts and sciences expounded,—and the conversation, between man and man, be expressed in the English language.* We may safely hazard this forecast of another consideration of sublime magnitude, arising out of the oriental progress and dominion, of those who read, write, and speak the English language—that language which is the chief medium through which the navigation and commerce of the great seas, and the movements of the steam-ships are expressed. It is, verily, a PAST, of wonderful actions, it must be a FUTURE of more astounding events—that of the progress of the Anglo-Saxon race over the East—to the Cape of Good Hope—Aden, and the Mauritius:—from the Himalaya Mountains to Cape Comorin,—from Ceylon to Tenasserim and Malacca;—from Singapore to Labuan, Hong-kong, and the Australian empire; and, thence east across the Pacific Ocean until the Anglo-Saxons are met again on the west, in California, the Columbia, and Vancouver's Island.

When the vice-royalties of Spain in America revolted against the crown, they engaged in their cause, in like manner as every people struggling for liberty have and ever will, the most ardent hopes and the most generous sympathies of the intelligent, the virtuous, and the liberal minds of Europe and of Anglo-America. They beheld the Spanish colonists as a people, determined to rival the bold and successful resistance of the British Americans, to a domination; which, though often severe and unjust, was paternal compared to the royal absolutism and the hierarchical bondage of the crown and church of Spain, which smothered both civil liberty and religious freedom.

* This question will be found fully discussed, on the legal authorities of first eminence, in my work on "The Progress of America."

The world, however, knew not the political, the social, the moral, or the educational condition of the people of Spanish America. It was hoped and believed that, if once independent, their new and free governments, animated by the progress and instructed by the example of the great Anglo-Saxon republic, would have advanced steadily, along with the march of civilisation, in political liberty and religious freedom,—in the careful education of the people,—in bringing forth, profitably, the great agricultural, mineral, and commercial resources of their vast and fertile territories,—and in establishing free, enlightened, and durable governments.

But the inhabitants of free countries had not studied—in truth it was impossible for them to know, the condition, morally and physically, of the Spanish race in the colonies. Hence has arisen the disappointment which has been experienced in regard to the progress of the republics of Mexico, and of Central, and South America; and, had he lived, no man would have been more thoroughly mortified at the present condition and the deplorable prospects of those states, than George Canning, who first announced that England had acknowledged and added new, free, and independent nations to the constitutional states of the world.

Spain, from the first days of occupation, planted the elements of future weakness, decline, and dissolution in her colonies: arbitrary, civil, and military powers, injustice and cruelty to the aborigines—an ecclesiastical tyranny, which fascinated the senses and paralysed the intellect, were the elements of Spanish policy in America. The frustration of the arts, sciences, and the non-existence of administrative capacity, were chiefly owing to the despotism of the government: the sin of ignorance in the people, and intolerance in religion, were owing, and is owing to the church, still rich in its possessions and revenues. There is more of the *spirit of enterprise* to be observed on Wenham, a frozen lake in Massachusetts, than in all Mexico. A few persecuted pilgrims arrived on the bleak rocky shores of Massachusetts 100 years after Cortez conquered Mexico. Massachusetts, in wealth and industry, is the Holland of America, and now far more powerful than Mexico. Eighty years ago, there did not reside a person who spoke the English language, from the mouth of the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Columbia; from the lakes of Canada to the Gulf of Mexico; from the Alleghany Mountains to the Pacific. Since that period, chiefly within the last fifty years, the progress of the Anglo-Saxons has been more rapid than the conquests of the Romans, or the descents of the Huns, Goths, and Vandals. The latter barbarised Europe. Without defending the whole conduct of the Anglo-Saxons, which we consider often reprehensible, they are destined to liberate and civilise all America.

It is in contemplation of this progress that we consider, and shall view, the policy as all-important to maintain the bonds of peaceful relations between

Anglo-America and the free constitutional states of Europe. If there be one course of policy, more than another, which we would advocate—to which we would devote our labours, in order to aid in obtaining the only certain *guarantee* of peace and of friendship, between two great nations, who, in language and race, are one people—that course of policy is to establish the least possible restrictions on the interchange of the commodities of the one country in the other—upon the arrival at, remaining in, and departure from, of the ships and citizens of America, in every British port and place in the universe—of British ships, and subjects, in every port and place within the American regions. A long duration of peaceful and commercial intercourse will dispel jealousies, obliterate old offences, and sooth all irritations.

If ever the history of the world presented two states in a position, and condition, to do each other the utmost possible good, or the greatest possible evil—such are the actual positions, and actual conditions, of the United Kingdom and the United States. These constitute subjects of serious consideration for the governments, and for the people, of both England and America.*

Awful, indeed, would be the consequence, if those wild or foolish politicians, who, from ignorance, vanity, ambition ; or, with more dangerous, and unprincipled, designs, would involve the British and American powers in the certain calamities of war, by misguiding the people, and the governments, of both countries. Civilisation in America, and in Europe, would, for the time, be paralysed ; and, not only the present generation, but succeeding generations, would suffer, grievously, by an interruption of peace, and intercourse, between the members of a great family ; who, though divided as to their governments, are, nevertheless, in spite of their respective prejudices, bound together as one people, by the inseparable union of speaking the same language ; of being educated in schools, in which the same lessons are taught,—and trained at firesides, where the mothers instil into their children the same virtues ; by reading the same literature ; by studying similar laws,—professing, generally, the same religion ; by cherishing the same domestic associations ; practising, from hereditary and common usage, the same manners ; by having, until a very late period, a common history : in short, by inheriting their vices and virtues, and their folly and wisdom in common.

It has been the long and serious contemplation of these grave circumstances, which has at all times,—while in America,—and while in Europe, urged, and does, and will, hereafter, urge us to advocate and promote every measure, which materially, morally, and honourably, can strengthen the ties that will bind and maintain, in peaceful harmony, the whole British Empire and the United States of America.—Let us now return to our inquiry with respect to the social and political condition of the states of Europe in 1848.

* We have always advocated the wisdom of abolishing the navigation laws, if not with respect to the ships of all the world, at least with regard to the vessels and commodities of the United States : in short, to place those states and their citizens with respect to the British Empire as if they were still integral parts of this empire, but without the expense or perplexity of governing them.—See “Progress of America.”

CHAP. III.

AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA.

THE present state of Europe renders the condition of Germany the most interesting subject for examination and reflection that has occurred in the history of the Continent since the ages of the Reformation, of Louis XIV., and of the first French Revolution.

When that extraordinary union of mutual intercourse, called the Zoll-Verein, became, in the phraseology of diplomacy, *un fait accompli*—that is to say, a practical operating reality—it then appeared evident to us, that this social and commercial union formed, with regard to the near future of Germany, a great political fact, which, if wisely directed, could not fail to become the widest, and, in its influence, the most lasting blessing ever shed over that country. It constituted an union of material and moral interests, by removing all the social and commercial barriers that had existed from the shores of the Baltic to the frontiers of Bohemia, the Tyrol, and Switzerland,—from the eastern boundaries of France and Belgium to the western limits of Russian Poland. The more we examined the whole history of the German people, their separate governments,—the progress of intelligence, and the reproduction of the “Penny Magazines,” and similar works, at Leipzig, which were rapidly disseminated even over Austria, we saw clearly that the reign of the despotism of fear was coming to an end. Of this reign, Francis I. of Austria was the last monarchical type. He shuddered, before his departure from amid the sovereigns of the earth, in the belief of the fulfilment of the dictum, “*Après moi le deluge ;*” and he wailed, in the bitterness of anguish, “*Alles ist verloren ! alles ist verloren !*” “All is lost ! all is lost !” His death, and the institution of the Zoll-Verein, occurred nearly at the same time. The reign of true practical civil and religious liberty, not, we trust, that of administrative impracticability, began at the same date to dawn over Germany.*

* During my residence in France, Holland, Prussia, and Bavaria, from 1832 to 1836 ; and, afterwards, at Vienna, in 1836, 1837, and 1838, my inquiries led me to a knowledge of much respecting that which was little understood either in England or France. My interviews with the Prince de Metternich were then frequent. I was with him, also, at other places, where he communicated little or nothing to any other British subject, except to Lord Beauvale, the ablest and most clear-sighted British ambassador we have probably ever had at any foreign court. I was, in 1838, at Milan and Venice. I also accompanied Prince Metternich to Trieste. I was with him at Munich when he last visited that capital, and at Töplitz, during the last visit of the late King of Prussia, when the Emperor Nicholas came there to meet Prince Metternich and the Austrian archdukes ; and I visited him afterwards at Johannisberg. He was on all those occasions considered to have been in the plenitude of almost absolute power. I have within the last few days sat and conversed with him in London. It would be highly improper for me to allude further to these circumstances, than to observe, that I am convinced great injustice has been done to that eminent personage by public writers ; and that I found the prince, especially in all commercial matters, and in his endeavours to unshackle the trade of the empire from monopoly and restric-

If Joseph the Second was born and died too early for the benefit of the state and of the people, Francis the First, of Austria, was born and died too late for the spirit and intelligence of the age. The despotism of Francis was that of *fear*. It was rare, if ever, that he exulted in *hope*. Without the gifts of high intellectual capacity, and destitute of those qualities which distinguish men of genius, his abilities fitted him admirably, in peaceable times, for ordinary matters of administration; and he would, if it could have been possible, have politically, commercially, and aggressively, walled the Austrian dominions against all the ideas, the commodities, and the people of every other country in the world. He was educated in the associations connected with the misfortunes of Maria Theresa, and the abortive reforms, or, as they were considered by the other members of the House of Hapsburg, the mischievous and disastrous innovations, of Joseph the Second. He had little more than ascended the throne of his fathers, when the fairest princess of his family was, to glut the ferocity of monsters, sacrificed on a Parisian scaffold. Soon after he had to endure calamities still more disastrous. Napoleon occupied Schönbrunn, his soldiers Vienna,—and Francis was compelled to make an inglorious peace. A war not long after followed. Napoleon, a second time, after many battles and much carnage, occupied Vienna. An humiliating peace was concluded, and the Emperor of Austria, gave his beloved daughter in marriage to the fortunate son of a Corsican lawyer; who became an emperor, by the exercise and power of that sovereign intellect, which for good or for evil, he received from his Creator; an intellect high, and strong, and decisive, in its will, above that of his cotemporary monarchs.*

tions, far in advance of others in power; and further, that Prince Metternich carried to a satisfactory and liberal termination, in spite of the almost unanimous resistance of the *Bureaucracy of the Empire*, the negotiations for the Treaty of 1838, with Great Britain, and the modifications of the Austrian Imperial Tariff: in both which, under Lord Beauvale's superior judgment, I was intrusted with the subordinate details, in conjunction with the Aulic councillor, Baron Neuman. The great ameliorations which were effected in 1838, in the quarantine delays and regulations of the Austrian ports of the Adriatic, were also conceded to us by Prince Metternich. Nor, though we may have differed widely from him in his political views, can we overlook the means which were through him instituted for the education of every one born within the Austrian territory; and that, notwithstanding the opposition of the minister of the police and prisons, Seidelnitski (the then real tyrant of the country), Prince Metternich proclaimed the amnesty of 1838, when the Emperor was crowned at Milan King of Lombardy and Venice. In the midst of the greatest natural resources, rottenness had, however, pervaded the departments, and especially the fiscal affairs of the empire. The Emperor Francis lived too long to admit of that rottenness being removed, and replaced with sound materials during the probably remaining period of the administration of Prince Metternich: even if the latter had been, which he was not, earnestly supported by his next colleague, Kolowrath: though the latter had, out of Austria, the reputation (a very erroneous one) of being a thorough statesman of progress.

* The impression created by the force of Napoleon's character, is strikingly illustrated by the circumstances of the first meeting of the three consuls, Sièyes, Roger Ducos, and Bonaparte, to deliberate at the Luxembourg, immediately after the annihilation, by the latter, of the Directory, on the 18th Brumaire. Bonaparte was the youngest; yet Ducos, as if it were by instinct, said to Bonaparte, "*Prenez le fauteuil et deliberons.*" The latter instantly presided, as if he were inherently the authorised president; though Sièyes, from his age, administrative experience, and acquirements, was in common decency entitled to the chair. But the warrior must have resolved

When Napoleon was dethroned by the force of those liberal ideas, which were resuscitated, or which grew up in new aspects, against him, and, by the coalition which was formed in consequence of his having outraged the independence and the civil liberty of nations, the superior abilities of Prince Metternich, and, to a great degree, the sympathy of those assembled at the Congress of Vienna, restored Francis to far more than his former dominions; and, for the last twenty years of his life, no private gentleman had it ever more in his power to have lived in greater tranquillity. The atmosphere of the age was, however, foul air which Francis could not inhale with serenity. If Frederick the Second patronised and associated only with philosophers and military favourites, hated women, and acted with less than bare justice to his *roturier* subjects, Francis the First of Austria shuddered at the mere whisper of philosophy, and would much sooner have admitted Satan into his society than Voltaire. He went regularly to hear mass, said his prayers, confessed his sins, and gave precedence to the Pope's Nuncio over all ambassadors. He was fond of the *society* of women, but faithful to the marriage-bed. He delighted to see his obedient people; he gave all classes an audience twice a week; and he attended to their petitions, *in the language of which all political words were forbidden*.

He was fond to the extreme of vanity, and it was probably his only vanity, of believing himself implicitly considered by his subjects as their father, and, in believing them, especially the Austrians, as children who enjoyed his most parental affection. They daily repeated, and still repeat, anecdotes of VATER FRANZ.

He mixed unostentatiously with the Viennese, among whom he resided for nearly the last twenty years of his life, with the exception of spending the summer months at Baden,—a watering-place, situated about sixteen miles from the capital, at the foot of the Rhætian Alps. His manners and usual dress were remarkably simple and plain. He looked with his thin and powdered hair, spare person, Hessian boots, and black suit of clothes, not unlike a studious gentleman, living on a small income, at some retired place in an English county. To all who approached him he spoke with unaffected kindness, though not warmth of demeanour. With ordinary plain sense, his abilities fitted him for ruling a quiet submissive nation, as a parent who considered it a moral duty to cherish his children with affection, provided the latter obeyed the orders of the

to rule from that hour, and to become at once the man of action; for he disregarded the opinions of his colleagues, gave his own with energy and decision,—and after the conference broke up, Sièyes, in the evening, on being asked how they succeeded at the sitting, replied to Talleyrand, “*Nous avons un maître qui sait tout faire, qui peut tout faire, et qui veut tout faire.*”—“We have a master who knows how to do all,—who can do all,—and who will do all.” Bonaparte was *de facto* from that moment Dictator of France, and Sièyes said generously that he must be allowed to act; for that personal jealousies, *rivalités personnelles* would have ruined France. How could so comparatively a dwarf as Francis of Austria stand in the presence of such a giant as Bonaparte! Yet, the strength of liberal ideas laid this giant prostrate.

former, without questioning his authority. But these children, if they ever assumed their majority, were never to be forgiven. His kindness was limited to their never presuming to attain manhood. They were never to think for themselves. Fond of peace, and existing in perpetual dread of whatever accident, or destiny, might disturb the tranquillity of the empire, or cause any change in the minds of the people, or in the then existing policy and system of government, he was evidently not gifted with that sagacity, that political wisdom, or that sound judgment which belong to magnanimous and powerful minds. If he had, the affecting tale of Silvio Pellico would never have appeared to prove that the humanity of Francis was obliterated by his *fear*. If others, even the members of his own family, acquired any popularity, it transformed the tranquillity of his temper into absolute frenzy. He loved what he considered *accepted truths*, and which he called *historical rights*, but which were usually *exploded fallacies*. He dreaded inquiry and doubts, either with respect to the state religion or the established government. The very mentioning of representative government terrified him. With all his amiable qualities, he ought, politically speaking, to have *died* before the time when his grandmother, Maria Theresa, was born. The tempest of the first French revolution laid his judgment prostrate, at the moment he succeeded to the throne; and, from that day until the hour when he signed his last superstitious codicil, bequeathing the education of the people to the Jesuits, the dreaded imagined evils of innovation influenced all his conclusions, actions, and decisions. After the reforming impulse given to the empire by Joseph II., posterity in Austria may, with reason, curse their ancestors for submitting to the *retrograding rule of a self-willed despotic emperor*, in the person of a simple mannered and benevolent man.

At, and after his death, it appeared evident to us that the power of the Austrian empire, rich in all natural resources, had, since the reign of Maria Theresa, been struggling under all the embarrassments of a treasury always either in a state of poverty or of bankruptcy; and that these calamities, the most fatal to a state, arose altogether from a fallacious commercial and fiscal system, and from the most corrupt financial practices.

This empire occupies 11,631 German square miles, or 258,000 English square miles of the surface of Europe: that is, 45,000 more than France, 138,000 more than the United Kingdom, and 141,000 more than all the States of Prussia. The surface of the Austrian empire has pre-eminently the advantage of varied and extensive productive regions, yielding, or capable of growing, corn, rice, wine, oil, honey, wool, silk, hemp, flax, tobacco, madder, all useful vegetables, and delicious fruits—iron, coal, salt, and other minerals and products in abundance—cattle, swine, horses, and sheep; with the Danube and other great rivers, extending inland navigation to almost every part of the empire; with

many seaports on the Adriatic ; with her states also joining each other, and with a population generally industrious and orderly. All these advantages and blessings, therefore, render the Austrian empire capable of being one of the most rich and powerful states in the world. But the empire is without unity of tradition, races, history, or language—and the spirit of the supreme government,—the inflexibility of bureaucratic routine,—the mechanical heaviness of the military organisation,—the non-amalgamation of classes,—and the almost total exclusion of learned and scientific men from the society of the aristocracy, all constituted, down to the year 1848, elements of change or disintegration.

The population of the empire was distributed as follows, according to Professor Becher in 1840.

C O U N T R I E S.	TOTAL Males and Females.	C O U N T R I E S.	TOTAL Males and Females.
	number.		number.
Lower Austria	1,409,626	TOTAL brought forward.	17,455,065
Upper Austria	857,568	Lombardy	2,547,976
Styria	975,309	Venice	2,168,553
Carinthia and Carniola	759,541		
Illyrian coast	481,189	TOTAL of the kingdom..	4,716,529
Tyrol	839,755		
Bohemia	4,174,168	Hungary	12,096,202
Moravia and Silesia	2,166,638	Transylvania	2,079,000
Galicia	4,797,243	Military frontier	1,203,605
Dalmatia	394,028		
TOTAL	17,455,065	TOTAL	15,378,807
		GRAND TOTAL	37,550,401

Divided, according to religion, as follows :—Roman Catholics, 25,704,119 ; Greeks, 6,519,300 ; Lutherans, 1,276,187 ; Calvinists, 2,260,662 ; Unitarians, 45,131 ; Jews, 667,139 ; Military, 464,972.

The number of persons of other religious sects in the empire is stated at 2891, of which there are 2738 in Galicia.

With the exception of Hungary, Dr. Springer gives a population to the towns, great and small, of the empire for 1834, of 8,863,341, and to the agricultural lands, of 25,207,315 souls.*

By the separation of the Belgian Netherlands from the empire by the treaty of *Campo Formio*, and, finally, by the treaty of Vienna, Austria was relieved from a distant and perplexing government, which had occasioned great embarrassment, at different times, before the first French revolution. Exclusive of the want of unity to the body, which has long existed, and which still exists on the part of Hungary, Bohemia, Galicia, and, before the late revolution in Lombardo-Venetia,—financial embarrassments always crippled the Austrian power. It appeared remarkable to those who merely viewed the surface of the empire, that there should have ever existed any financial poverty, or embarrassment with regard to the public revenue and expenditure ; in a state where the laws were generally mild and impartially administered, where the government was

* In the first volume of my work on Commercial Statistics, and in the Supplement to the fourth volume, will be found the most ample details and statistics of the population, including the nobility, clergy, military, mercantile, manufacturing, and agricultural classes ; also the statistics of mines, agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and finances of the empire. The materials were furnished to me by Prince Metternich, who caused the best organised statistical department in Europe to be established, under Baron Kubeck, immediately after the ratification of the treaty of 1838 with England.

absolute, but, if its authority were not disputed, parental and indulgent to its subjects, and when such an empire was possessed in an eminent degree of all the natural resources, all the moral and physical elements of power, revenue, and riches. With all these elements of wealth and power, we have, in the fiscal history and condition of Austria, before us an astounding example of the evils and dishonour, which may be effected by barbarous legislation, in retarding the financial and commercial prosperity of a great nation.

If ever a state was endowed with all natural advantages, and in which, patriotically intended, legislation has been ruinous to her finances and commerce, that state has been this empire.

The fallacious principle of prohibiting foreign commodities in order to force home manufactures into existence, and to promote and maintain their prosperity with the patriotic and even paternal view of increasing the general wealth and power of the state,—the establishment of government and individual monopolies, all which in practice subjugated the whole nation to impoverishing indirect taxation, without enriching the treasury, and for the benefit at most, only of the *few* instead of the *many*, have formed that smothering system which had long paralysed the commerce, fiscal independence, and effective power of Austria.

With the good intentions of a liberal and ardent mind, but not of a sufficiently matured or sound judgment, Joseph II. enfeebled his country by the false commercial and financial legislation, which he directed his minister, Prince Kaunitz, to enforce. He subjected Austria, in consequence, to all the misfortunes that an empty and bankrupt treasury are sure to bring upon nations as well as upon individuals.

A rigorous system, nearly in every respect prohibitory, was enforced by that sovereign. An expensive army of preventive custom-house agents was stationed around the frontiers, and monopolies of trade and manufactures, to be carried on by government, or by individuals, were established. Of these, the monopoly of sugar granted to certain individuals, and the monopolies of salt and tobacco, as managed by the corrupt *employés* of the *Hofkammer* (finance department) were the most ruinous to the treasury. The misfortunes of Austria are far more attributable to this system, which remained unchanged until 1836-7-8, than even to an unconstitutional government. The late revolution, for we cannot consider it under any other term, was caused by the denial of those political, and representative rights; which the progress of civilisation, and the diffusion of knowledge, among the middle and industrious, rendered it impossible, either for the sovereign, or the aristocracy, longer to withhold. The financial history of Austria is too instructive for us to cast it aside, when inquiring into the condition of Germany.

Maria Theresa, rather than free her empire from the barbarous shackles of restriction, and consequently increase her revenue, descended to the humiliating expedient of public begging in the churches; and so far was she reduced in her finances, that, to secure, in her need, the alliance of France, she condescended

to correspond and pay court to Farinella and Madame de Pompadour, both royal mistresses; and, both of whom the virtuous, and chaste, empress would no doubt have immured in a convent, if she had had them at Vienna.

The first wars of the French revolution, not only soon emptied the treasury, but the public debt was increased, by every possible expedient, to an amount which was cleared off by the most discreditable *coup d'état* on record.

Count Wallis, called by the emperor from the post of Oberst-burg-graf in Prague, was appointed minister of finance in Vienna, for the whole empire. He soon perceived that the financial measures of Counts Sauran, Zichy, and O'Donnell, from 1790 to 1811, were mere temporary expedients for momentary distress, and not calculated for permanent income to provide for future exigencies. Voluntary contributions had been demanded; the silver of the churches had been used; a base currency, intrinsically of half its nominal value, had been issued; the exportation of the precious metals had been prohibited; a compulsory loan of seventy-five millions of florins had been exacted, to diminish the exorbitant amount of imperial bank-notes which were issued; additional enormous duties had been laid upon sugar and all tropical produce; the post money had been raised two or three times; a property tax of one-half per cent had been levied; and the emperor, who had publicly promised to issue no imperial bank-notes for the future, was again compelled to have recourse to that ruinous expedient. All was in vain! The following statement has become history:—

“The floating bank-notes had imperceptibly risen to 1,060,000,000 of florins (106,000,000*l.* sterling): the amount of the *interest-paying* debt was not exactly ascertained; it was, doubtless, even more considerable. The salaries of all public officers and the expenditure of the state had risen enormously in proportion to the depreciation of currency; all these evils were now to be remedied by the bold project of the determined Count Wallis.

“The *coup-d'état* which that minister carried into execution was approved of by his late majesty the Emperor Francis. On the 11th of February, 1811, the orders were printed with the greatest secrecy in the imperial printing-office; a copy of the warrant was sent sealed to all the governors of the empire, who were to open it at the same hour, on the 15th of March, 1811; these orders were instantly to be acted upon, *without remonstrance, and without the assent of the states; and they were promulgated amidst the roll of military drums.* This master-stroke consisted in the substitution of *quittances* for *bank-notes*, so that FIVE FLORINS of the latter were paid by ONE FLORIN of the former, in all public and private engagements.

“The whole financial system of the empire was thus changed; the usual notion of right and property was entirely violated by a general national bankruptcy. The war of 1813 drew forth a fresh issue of 212,000,000*fl.* in paper, besides *anticipation-scheine* (notes issued to be paid by *anticipated* funds) to three times that amount. When Count Stadion succeeded Count Wallis, the paper money became so valueless that he found it necessary to *reduce it from 250 to 100.* In consequence, the property of *minors, hospitals, all institutions, and capitalists,* was reduced from *one hundred to twenty* by Wallis, and from *twenty to eight* by Stadion—that is, in the two national bankruptcies, creditors of all kinds *received only eight florins in state paper for every hundred due to them in silver.* Yet all this was of no comparison to the corruption of morals introduced amongst the people. Every one endeavoured by all or any means to make up for his unmerited loss. The permanent disadvantage to the state was still greater. It was

compelled to borrow, after the peace, first 20,000,000, and afterwards 38,000,000 from Rothschild, and soon after, nearly as much from other contractors."*

In 1831 a loan of near 100,000,000 florins was contracted; and unfortunately the expenditure of Austria has ever since exceeded the receipts: while Prussia, under far inferior natural advantages, paid off an immense amount of her national debt, and will, if necessary, be in five years altogether unincumbered.

No calamity can ever justify the national bankruptcy of a respectable government. This we will show hereafter.

Linguet, a French writer, contended, "That in an absolute government like France, the reigning prince has only a temporary interest in the revenue of the state, and consequently that it would be not only a prudent, but even a legal operation to annihilate the public debt at the commencement of each reign." This diabolical maxim may have been read by Count Wallis, but he should have remembered, as imperial minister, what King John of France declared, "That if honour had fled the world, it ought still to be found in the bosom of princes."

If Austria were as clear of financial difficulty as Prussia; and if a liberal *revenue* system of commercial and financial legislation were established, we might still consider it possible that the integrity of the empire, with the exception of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, might be maintained. But when we consider the independent spirit of the Hungarians, the atrocities committed in Galicia, the distrust of Austria on the part of the Bohemians and Transylvanians,—the great commercial strength of the Slavonian race,—and the events which have occurred since the death of Francis the First, arising from disregard to the signs of the times, when reform, without revolution, was certainly practical, and the poverty of the imperial treasury, we entertain a belief in a much larger disunion of the states, composing this empire, than the mere independence, either by force or consent, of the territories of Venice and Lombardy.

CHAP. IV.

ITALY.

THOSE who have travelled over Italy,—those who have read her history, which every man with any pretension to a liberal education must have done,—and those who have become well acquainted with the people, have all been perplexed in accounting for the political degradation of those regions. We have shared in that perplexity, but we finally traced our way back, and examined the social and political realities, which we had like others overlooked in our first transient observations, and which presented themselves from the Alps to the extremities of Calabria and Sicily, from the frontiers of France to those of Dalmatia,—from the waters of the Gulf of Genoa to those of the Adriatic. We beheld a country extending from the Swiss and Tyrolean Alps, in a latitude not more to the north than 46 deg., thence south about 630 English miles, to about latitude 37 deg.,

* Translated from Schneller's "History of Bohemia,"—a valuable work.

with an extreme length of about 800 miles, of unequal breadth, but comprising, within its boundaries, a region most bountifully enriched by the Creator,—with a soil generally fertile, and a climate ripening in plenty, nearly all kinds of productions,—with minerals, quarries, woods, and fisheries. The manifold resources of Italy were, indeed, realities, which adapted the country for wealth, abundance, and happiness,—for agricultural and commercial greatness,—and for political, moral, and social pre-eminence. But we found Italy, taking all her states, not a populous, not a highly cultivated, not a great commercial country. We found that of the enterprise and greatness which had distinguished the Venetians, the Florentines, the Pisans, and the Genoese, scarcely a vestige remained. We found the Italian people, taking them altogether, worse sheltered, worse clad, and worse fed than the Germans, French, or Swiss. We asked what was the cause, or what were the causes? Was it the government? the disunion of the country, in its many states? the religion? the people themselves? the mild climate? the fertile soil? the non-division of property in some states? its sub-division in others? To which, we asked, one or all of these, are we to ascribe all of evil or of good that pervaded the social, moral, material, and political aspect of Italy.

Taking any one of these as the causes of evil, we might refute them, at least so far as to say, that the Italians, whether in Piedmont, in Lombardo-Venetia, in Tuscany, in the Papal states, in Calabria, or in Sicily, not even excepting the Lazzaroni of Naples, are, intellectually and physically, capable of doing, and willing to do, and to learn as much, as the inhabitants of any other country; that Catholicism does not prevent the people of Brabant, of Flanders, of Bohemia, of Upper and Lower Austria, of Styria and Bavaria, from being industrious, well clad, well sheltered, and well fed. That the government of Austria and Lombardy was the same; and, for several years, at least, administered in the same spirit; and that the climate and soil and the religion of Provence in France, and of the plains of Piedmont, are in both similar.

But on further reviewing the social, political, and administrative condition of Italy, we found among the middle and upper classes in Piedmont, intelligence, a silent spirit of discontent, and a yearning for civil liberty; we found distrust of, and antipathy to Austria, in Lombardy; we discovered that this distrust of foreigners, and of the future, which in Lombardy had in families become hereditary, made the rich proprietors, and others who had more or less of wealth, misers, and paralysed enterprising undertakings: and it also became evident to us, that the middle and labouring classes were uneasy and discontented, and only kept in their apparently loyal state, and in silent non-resistance, by the presence of an Austrian police and army. In Venetia, historical traditions were by no means obliterated,—neither the middle nor higher classes, spoke openly; for there, also, was an Austrian army and police,—and there was no open sympathies

advisings, or imaginings, openly expressed between either Naples, Rome, or Tuscany and Northern Italy. So the people were quiet, and their tranquillity was mistaken for a loyalty to Austria, which never had an existence. They did not clamour, but they read and they thought, and they hoped that Louis Philippe would die, or cease to reign ; and that when Prince Metternich was no more, Austria would possess no intellect for imperial administration. The same sentiments prevailed in Modena, Lucca, Parma, and the Legations. They uttered them *viva voce* in Bologna and in its neighbourhood. In Tuscany the grand duke was a mild sovereign, the municipalities had local freedom, and the people appeared in better circumstances than in any other part of Italy.

In Rome, the then pope was old. In politics and government, he ruled according to the advice of, and was defended with military force by, Austria. Travellers, and the contributions to the church, brought a good deal of money among the people. They never expected to have a pontiff with any vigour of body or of mind. They, however, thought that something would happen in Italy, and consequently in the Papal States, whenever both the citizen king of the French, and the prime minister of the Austrian empire, ceased to reign. The Swiss regiments, at least, might then be sent home.

At Naples, despotism ruled supreme. With the presence of Swiss regiments, and the dread of Austrian bayonets, the Neapolitans had ceased to hope. The fertility of the Two Sicilies, the high taxes upon the products, and the duties upon foreign importations, with the meanness of the sovereign's expenditure, enriched the king, and rendered him sufficiently powerful to have several regiments of Swiss mercenaries. He, too, feared to place trust in his own subjects. In Sicily, however, we found that the people, and the nobles, as well as the middle and labouring classes, were all ready for revolt. The space of time which had elapsed since the English occupation, was too short for them to forget the liberty and the prosperity they had then enjoyed. They spoke out loudly about their constitution, Lord William Bentinck, and the protection of England.

The Sicilians are a brave and generous people, and none deserve liberty better. We earnestly desire that they may administer with ability, wisdom, and peace the independence which they have so gallantly achieved,—that, by pacific industrious pursuits, they may develop the fertile resources of their rich country, and become a happy, opulent, and powerful people.

In Calabria they spoke and thought in the same way of the French, as the Sicilians did of the English, and there and in the Abruzzi, they seemed ready for revolution. Even in Naples, they sighed in silence for the return of the French, or for independence. Such was the moral and political mind of Italy when, to the astonishment of the Italians and of Europe, a man in age, not past the years of activity, with remarkable energy and intelligence of mind, was elected pontiff—a reformer pope.

Louis Philippe, in the part he took to promote this election, contributed much to fulfil the yearnings of the Italians. He is in England ; so is the late *de facto* sovereign of Austria. Will others profit by the example?

CHAP. V.

RUSSIA—TURKEY—GREECE—SWEDEN—NORWAY—AND DENMARK.

THE dawn of civilisation in Russia, or rather the introduction of Russia into the European system of commercial and official intercourse, forms an important epoch in the progress of the world. There will be no future irruptions of Goths, Huns, or Vandals. The growth of that empire has not only astonished the people, but it has engaged the earnest and constant attention of statesmen and diplomatists of other nations. The acquisition of territory by negotiation, by conquest, or by treaty, since the accession as czar of a semi-barbarian, Peter the Great, has been far more extensive than any previous European empire. But vast territories do not constitute strength or power. A population of thirty millions, with remunerative employment, in a productive, compact territory, is far more powerful than a population of sixty millions settled over regions ten times as extensive as that occupied by half that number of inhabitants. The sixty millions of people are not only rendered less powerful by their scattered position, but they are also a further degree weakened if they consist of different races, who have neither traditional sympathies for, nor existing interests with, each other.

The states of the Germanic Union of Customs and the Russian Empire stand with respect to each other very nearly in the above position. France is a country which promises nearly all the advantages of a great population, with abundant means of productive employment, within a territory compactly formed, and with a people who feel and know that they are, for all purposes of good, or of evil, to themselves, or to their neighbours, ONE NATION. Hence has arisen the great power of France, and the rapid renovation of prosperity, force, and power after disasters in that really great country.

Great Britain, as we will more fully show hereafter, owes her prosperity and power to the formation, resources, and geographical position of her home dominions, and to the enterprise of her people. In respect to traditionary sympathies, and the nationality of the inhabitants, we must admit that France has the advantage over the United Kingdom.

Holland affords an example, above all other states, of the power and importance attained by a united and intelligent population inhabiting a very small territory. The peninsula of Spain and Portugal is, by geographical position, and by natural conformation, soil, and climate, at least as far adapted for being

powerful as France ; yet all the superior advantages of the Peninsula are cast into comparative insignificance, where the people have no traditional bonds of union, where they are thinly scattered over the surface, and where they have for centuries been unjustly governed, have had their education neglected, and their morals debased by superstition and intolerance.

Though not included within the governmental policy of European states,—though as a state unnoticed in the system called, after the ratification of the treaty of Westphalia in 1648, the balance of the powers of European states, yet Muscovy appears to have been, long before the age of Peter the Great, a country of considerable power, abundant resources, and, within her dominions, of important trade : the latter chiefly consisted in the commerce of interchange at the fairs, especially at Novogorod, and in a periodical transit trade to and from oriental countries.

Puffendorff, in his introduction to the History of Europe, written a short time before the revolution of 1688 in England, devotes in the octavo edition, only five pages to Muscovy, while a full proportion of his book is devoted to an account of Poland. He informs us that the first origin of Muscovy, and the achievements of her princes were uncertain and obscure ; but that the country was formerly divided into a great many *petty* lordships, which were afterwards united in one body ; and that the Muscovites, in 989, embraced Christianity on the marriage of their prince *Wolodomir* to *Anne*, sister of the Greek emperor Basilius Porphyrogenitus. In 1237, the Muscovites were subdued by the Tartars, who slew the Czar George. In 1450, under John, son of blind Basilius, they became independent of the Tartars. This prince also subdued the dukes of Great Novogorod and Tiver, and in the city of Novogorod took a booty in gold and silver, which, according to history, loaded 300 carts. His successor took Smolensko from the Poles, but he was soon after defeated by the Astracan Tartars, who ransacked Moscow. *Basilowitz*, the tyrant, conquered Astracan and Casan, and united those kingdoms in 1533, to Muscovy. His barbarities in Livonia caused the inhabitants of Revel and Tethland, to place themselves and their city and country under Sweden. The remaining part of Livonia joined Poland. The Poles defeated the tyrant, and captured Plotskov and several other places. In the beginning of the seventeenth century a pretender to Muscovy appeared as a *Demetrius* who was murdered, and who was the son of the Czar John Basilowitz. The pretender Demetrius, who was a polished adventurer, obtained the Czarship, but his government became odious, and on the celebration of his nuptials with a Polish bride, the daughter of the Vaivode of Sendemir, he was surprised by a strong body of Muscovites and murdered. Others say that he escaped, and re-appeared again. The Demetrius who re-appeared has generally been considered a second impostor, but whether he was the first, or another pretender, he succeeded in raising a large army, recaptured the Polish bride, who acknowledged him for her husband, and if

the real heir, Basilius Zuisky, had not been succoured by a strong force sent by the *King of Sweden*, Demetrius would probably have secured the throne of the Czars to his own family. Zuisky was successful, and consequently proclaimed Czar ; but Sweden in return secured to herself the possession of Ingermanland, the country south and west of where Petersburg now stands, and Carelia, or the country north of St. Petersburg and east of the Lake of Ladoga. The Poles at the same time reconquered their province of Smolensko ; and all Muscovy was only prevented from becoming a Polish province, according to Puffendorff, by the Muscovites deposing Zuisky and offering the crown to Vladislaus, Prince of Poland, which caused some delay on the part of the Poles ; and by Demetrius having been strangled by his own Tartar guards, who immediately attacked the Polish garrison of 7000 men in the city of Moscow. The Poles defended themselves with great bravery, and when compelled to abandon Moscow, set the city on fire, which consumed about 180,000 houses and buildings. Many of the inhabitants perishing in the flames. The Polish soldiers fought their way back to Poland ; and the irresolution of the Polish king, Sigismund, occasioned the loss of Muscovy to the Poles. After these disasters, the succession to the Czarship was established in the person of Michael Fedorowitz, son of the Greek Patriarch, who had married a daughter of the *Czar John Basilowitz*. Between 1653 and 1658 Alexis, the son of Michael, conquered Smolensko and Keovia, devastated Lithuania, took Dorpt and other places in Livonia. Sweden, however, compelled him to relinquish his conquests in Livonia. Previously to the accession of Peter the Great in 1696, the Cossacks of the Ukraine acknowledged the sovereignty of Russia.

This extraordinary man, although certainly in manners and in the violence of his passions, a semi-barbarian, gave Russia a navy, arsenals, seaports on the Baltic ; conquered the Baltic provinces of Livonia and Esthonia, Ingermanland, and Carelia ; and introduced arts, sciences, literature, and civilisation into his new but most inconveniently situated capital.

In many respects there is a striking resemblance in the bold efforts made by Mehemet Ali in Egypt, to those attempted with absolute energy by Peter in Russia. Peter's ruling ambition was to make Russia a formidable naval power ; an ambition which has not, and we believe, never will be realised. *The Slavonians have not, in fact, a maritime genius.* Hence the miserably slow progress of Russian maritime commerce.

The following summary of the condition of Muscovy and the Muscovites, drawn up by Puffendorff, forms a curious contrast of Russia 161 years ago, compared with Russia in 1848.

"Of the qualifications of the Muscovites," says Puffendorff, "nothing very praiseworthy can be said. For among them there is no such education as among most other European nations : reading and writing being the highest degree of learning among them, and the learning of their priests themselves does not go further than to be able to read a chapter out of the Bible, or to read a piece of a sermon. They are also jealous, cruel, and bloody-minded ; insupportably proud in prosperity, and dejected and cowardly in

adversity. Nevertheless, they have such an opinion of their own abilities and merits that you can scarce ever pay them sufficient respect. They are very fit for and cunning in the trade of usury, but are of a servile temper, and must be kept under by severity. At all sorts of games and sports their end is with blows and fighting; so sticks and whips are the usual instruments among them. They are of a strong constitution, able to undergo all sorts of fatigues, even famine and thirst. In field-fights and sieges they are worth nothing, because they are soon brought into confusion, and are themselves of opinion that other nations are their masters in this point; but they defend a fortress to the utmost, not only because they are very fit to undergo hardships and all sorts of misery, but also because they know it is present death to them if they return home after they have surrendered a fortress by accord. Nevertheless, they do endeavour to bring their soldiers under better discipline, for which purpose they make use of a great many Scotch and German officers, who are to instruct them in all manner of exercises as practised among other European nations. But they do not allow that the Muscovites serve abroad and learn themselves the perfection of military arts and exercises, because the grand-duke stands in fear, that if they should grow too knowing, they might be for making innovations at home.

"The territories of the present Grand-duke of Muscovy are of a very large extent, yet so that a great many parts are mere wildernesses, scarce inhabited at all. The Muscovites have at home great plenty of corn, cattle, all sorts of game, fish, salt, furs, and their precious sables, which are esteemed at a high rate among their neighbours; salt fish, caviare, hides, tallow, wax, honey, potashes, soap, hemp, and the like. But the commodities which are imported to them are silk, stuffs, gold, silver, and woollen cloths, tapestry, pearls, and precious stones, spices and wines, but the latter not in any great quantities. Tobacco is now a prohibited commodity there. They keep it for a constant custom in their way of trade, not to buy with ready money, but to exchange commodities for commodities; and it is against the constitutions of Muscovy to export any coin. Their greatest trade is at Archangel, which way the English first found out in the year 1553. But since that time the Hollanders and Hamburgers have followed their example. Before that time this trade was carried on by the way of Narva and Reval; but though this was the shorter way, yet did the foreign merchants not care to be so much in subjection to the Swedes and Danes. There is also a considerable trade carried on with the Persians down the River of Wolga, by the way of Astracan.

"The form of government here is an absolute monarchy; the grand-duke, whom they call in their native language czar, being not tied up to any laws or rules; unto whom his subjects are obliged to pay obedience without reserve, so that they are no more than slaves, which also suits best with their natural constitution. And therefore this absolute power of the prince is a great addition to his strength, since he can not only raise some hundred thousands of men at the first command, but also has vast riches and prodigious revenues. These do accrue to him not only out of the taxes and income of so vast a country, but also because the grand-duke himself has the monopoly of *sables* (fur trade); and, if I am not much mistaken, also farms out all public inns, taverns, and alehouses himself, which amounts to a prodigious revenue, in a country where the nation is much addicted to drinking. He makes also his presents to foreign princes and ambassadors in *sables*, but receives in lieu of them gold and silver. Besides this, it is a common custom with him to set a new stamp upon crown pieces, and to oblige his subjects to take them for double the value; from whence it cannot be supposed but that this prince must lay up vast treasures.

"The Muscovites ought to have a watchful eye over the Poles, they being so situated that they may do the greatest mischief to Muscovy, especially since the Poles are much better soldiers than the Muscovites in the field."

Such was Muscovy and the Muscovites, and of the power and materials to which Peter succeeded in 1689. The increase of the population and of the acquisition of territory, is stated in a work entitled "The Progress of Russia in the East," as follows:

- “ At the accession of Peter I. in . 1689 . . 15,000,000 inhabitants.
 At the accession of Catherine II. 1762 . . 25,000,000 „
 At her death, in . . 1796 . . 36,000,000 „
 At the death of Alexander . . 1825 . . 58,000,000 „
- “ Her acquisitions from Sweden are greater than what remains of that kingdom.
 “ Her acquisitions from Poland are nearly equal to the Austrian Empire.
 “ Her acquisitions from Turkey in Europe are of greater extent than the Prussian dominions, exclusive of the Rhenish Provinces.
 “ Her acquisitions from Turkey in Asia are nearly equal in dimensions to the whole of the smaller states of Germany.
 “ Her acquisitions from Persia are equal in extent to England.
 “ Her acquisitions in Tartary have an area not inferior to that of Turkey in Europe, Greece, Italy, and Spain.
 “ The acquisitions she has made within the last sixty-four years, are equal in extent and importance to the whole empire she had in Europe before that time.
 “ The Russian frontier has been advanced towards
 Berlin—Dresden—Munich—Vienna—and Paris . . about 700 miles.
 Towards Constantinople „ 500 „
 Towards Stockholm „ 630 „
 Towards Teheran „ 1000 „
- “ It is to be borne in mind that the Russian tariff of *exclusion* has been extended to all those acquisitions, where formerly British merchandise was freely sent.”

The empire of Russia, including the greater part of the ancient kingdom of Poland, Finland, and the isles of Aland, &c., which formerly belonged to Sweden; the ancient kingdoms of Astrakan and Kazan, conquered from the Tartars; the Crimea, Little Tartary, Bessarabia, and a portion of Moldavia, taken from the Ottoman empire; the encroachments over the regions of the Caucasus, on the possessions of the natives, and on the dominions of Turkey and Persia: that vast region extending east, from the confines of Europe to the Pacific and to Behring's Strait, and north from the confines of Persia and Tartary, to the Arctic circle; also a great, valuable, and undefined extent of country, along the north-west coast of America;—occupies altogether even a greater portion of the surface of the globe, than the vast but widely-spread British empire.

The natural resources in respect to soil and productions, are exceedingly varied, and in many portions of the empire, of very great importance. The severity of the climate in the most northerly parts, precludes cultivation; and, excepting in the most southerly provinces, the frost is severe during winter, and locks up the sea, river, and lake navigation, in icy fetters, from two to seven months.

Although many swampy and sandy tracts extend over the temperate regions of the empire; and although in the northern parts, grain will not ripen, Russia comprises vast plains and great valleys which may be considered eminently favourable to the cultivation of all kinds of green and white crops, and to the breeding of horses, horned cattle, sheep, goats, and swine.

The numerous and great forests of Russia produce valuable timber of different kinds.

The iron and copper mines, are not only abundant, but the ore of the very best quality. Gold, silver, platina, antimony, cobalt, quicksilver, precious stones, marble, and malachite, are found, some of which in great quantities.

Russia has several of the largest rivers in Europe and Asia flowing through her dominions ; and the internal navigation of the empire has been unlocked, and the Caspian, Baltic, and the White Sea, have, since the beginning of the reign of Peter the Great, been actually united by the completion of a vast plan of canalisation. Great plenty of fish abound in all these rivers and lakes.

Russia has about thirty good seaports ; but most of them are for several months obstructed or closed in by frost.

The gigantic extent of this empire has magnified her power into the utmost stretch of exaggeration. In appreciating Russia, we write without any national bias : we state facts : and we must, therefore, in judging of her power and capabilities, fiscally and commercially, bear in mind that the greater part (without including the frozen regions) of that empire is a wilderness, thinly inhabited by a people, the nobles excepted, living nearly all in the serfage state ; that her widely-spread dominions, weaken instead of strengthen her offensive power ; that her ports in the Baltic are frozen up four months in the year ; that of Archangel eight ; those in Asia, or North America, for two or three ; that, although her harbours in the Black Sea are only partially closed by climate, her merchant shipping in that sea, were it not for the free mercantile egress and ingress she has acquired through the Dardanelles, would be locked up for a certain period of every year.

Her climate, with the exception of part of her most southern provinces, will only ripen the common productions of the north ; and more than two-thirds of the soil of her vast dominions is occupied by rocks, swamps, pine-forests, and sterile deserts ; yet the resources of the remaining *vast third*, and of her mines, are of immense value : and were it not for the pernicious fiscal system and anti-commercial tariff of prohibitions, and high duties, *now*, with the exception of those of France and Spain, the most illiberal in the world, Russia might always have an ample revenue, and a commerce of vast extent in supplying timber, corn, tar, pitch, hemp, tallow, &c., to foreign countries, in exchange for manufactures, at a cheap rate ; such as those which have been attempted to be forced into existence by means of *serf labour*.

The Russian empire may be considered as a confederation, by compulsion, of heterogeneous states, each under the immediate rule of a local absolute government ; and all held under the sway of military authorities ; the chief of which is an hereditary absolute monarch.

This general form and principle of administration is, in respect to some of the provincial and other local governments, allowed some exceptional modification.

The geographical divisions of Europe and Asia are not regarded in the administrative divisions of Russia.

The best authorities divide the empire into 49 administrative governments, and 12 smaller provinces (oblasts), or dependent governments. To these we must add the kingdom of Poland ; the grand-duchy of Finland, the vassal states of Georgia and Siberia ; and several petty states bordering on Asia, which are, except in a military view, perfectly independent of the general government.

The 49 administrative governments are each divided into circles, or arrondissements, and two or more of the civil governments are united under one military chief ; for example, Okhotsk and Kamtschatka, are joined under the general military chieftainship of eastern Siberia : Tobolsk, Tomsk, and Omsk, form the military government of Western Siberia.

The administrative governments of Courland, Esthonia, Livonia, and Pskov, form one military chieftainship : St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Finland, are again, of themselves, each a military government.

The exceptions to the whole empire, being immediately, as well as supremely, under military rule, consist chiefly in the grand duchy of Finland, having a limited local constitution : in Poland, having a senate, the members of which are nominated for life ; and an elective chamber of 120 members, 60 of whom are nonces, elected by the nobility, and 60 deputies, named by the people, not serfs ; and, further, in Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia, retaining several of their ancient privileges. The Cossacks of the Don, and on the borders of the Black Sea, may also be considered within themselves as forming military republics.

The imperial government overrules all by its ukases, or decrees. In Russia, all power emanates from the authority of the emperor. His qualification as samoderjetz, or autocrat, indicates that he is only second to God alone. The mere act of election, in 1613, of Michael Romanoff, conferring on him and his descendants the crown of the Tzars, or Czars, consecrated, instead of limiting, absolute power ; and from that period the tzars have been supreme heads of the state and church.

There is no representation of the power or of the people, either in the local or general government. A senate is nominated by the sovereign to form and promulgate ukases. The minister of finance publishes an account of the condition of the bank, and a specious financial statement, which appears to us unsatisfactory. The treasury—that is, the emperor's revenue—has been so greatly enriched by the gold sands of Siberia, as to create a general belief in Europe of the formidable wealth and consequent aggressive power of Russia. But a careful examination of the best accounts of Russia will lead to a very different conclusion. Aggressively, one irruptive campaign south into Europe would extract all the convertible financial resources of the empire ; unless it

were a mere campaign to overrun and occupy the Danubian states, now under the titular sovereignty of the declining Turkish empire.

Aggressively, the other states of Europe have little to apprehend from the power of Russia. Within the imperial dominions, in Poland, in the Asiatic Astracan provinces, and on the Caucasian frontier, there are abundant elements of just resistance against which Russia must long be prepared to combat: unless salutary remedies are applied to the social and political maladies of the empire. The Emperor Nicholas may seize on Moldavia and Wallachia, and Turkey cannot prevent him. The Hungarians might add these principalities, as well as Servia, Bulgaria, and also Transylvania, to the kingdom of Hungary, to which these countries naturally appertain. The fertile regions extending from the borders of Lower Austria to the mouths of the Danube, and south from the Carpathians to Fiume and to the Balkan, would constitute one, if not the most important of kingdoms, if wisely administered, in the world. In the probabilities of the future, this arrangement is far from being impossible.

Of GREECE, little need be said, further than that it seems a country feeble in itself, and in which anarchy will, we fear, continue to prevail.

TURKEY.—As a power, that of the Sublime Porte has been declining since the day when Sobieski defeated the Moslems under the walls of Vienna, and since the reign of Peter the Great. Inactivity is the personal characteristic,—fatalism the sentiment of the Turkish Mussulman. His administrative capacity is a nullity. His military prowess received its extinction when the Janizaries were massacred. The laws, the politics, and the religion, are those of the Koran. The authority of the sultan had always been absolutely despotic, but limited by the counterpoise of the bowstring. As caliph, he is the pope of Mahomedanism. In Asia Minor and in Syria, the governments are farmed to pachas, who are, with their insatiable tax-gatherers, perfect tyrants. In Roumelia, they are but little superior. The Mahomedans have long been decreasing in numbers, and declining in energy. The Franks, chiefly those of Greek and Armenian races, occupy nearly all places requiring knowledge and activity, many of power, and, excepting the pachalics, most places of profit. The elements of rottenness and dissolution have long pervaded the whole Turkish empire. It is idle to say that Egypt is not independent of the sultan's authority. Syria is nearly a region of anarchy. Asia Minor is comparatively depopulated. Albania is always in preparation for revolt. The Danubian principalities are Greek in religion, and Russian in social manners. The integrity of the Turkish empire depends only on the sufferance of those devourers, who have not yet held a congress to partition the prey. When that partition, which seems inevitable, becomes an event, may it not cost Europe as dearly as the partition of Poland?

SWEDEN AND NORWAY.—In the present aspect of affairs, these kingdoms, which have been moderately, if not at all times wisely governed by the late king,

present little of importance in regard to the political state of Europe. Though far from populous, any maritime power might derive great aid, especially in regard to seamen, from Sweden and Norway.

DENMARK has, on the defensive, engaged in an unequal war. It is impossible for this state, with so small a population and so poor a treasury, to resist Prussia. Mediation may and ought to settle the question. The armed intervention of foreign powers would constitute an European calamity—possibly a general war.

CHAP. VI.

FRANCE.

NOTWITHSTANDING the original diversity of races, the disasters, the changes, the civil wars, and the revolutions which are so eventful in the history of France, there is in no other a population which more thoroughly constitutes one nation. Since the beginning of the present century, Great Britain may be considered fully as united by language and social intercourse, but even to this day, antiquated and different laws and forms of procedure, distinguish Scotland from England.

There is little doubt that Cæsar in his Commentaries described the Gauls with sufficient correctness, as a people then but little elevated above the savage condition. The Greeks partially, as commercial colonists, and the Romans far more generally, as conquerors, introduced their military discipline and civilisation over Gaul. The northern conquerors afterwards superinduced the feudal system; and nearly, if not altogether, obliterated whatever civilisation and learning may have been established by the Romans. Authority became, in consequence, divided between the supreme feudal chief, called Roy, König, or king, and the feudal barons, or vassals of that chief. The barons were even more than sovereigns, in their turn, over their immediate and other vassals, or those *figuratively* called, as under the yoke, subjects: all others were the *thralls*, *serfs*, or the *adscripti glebæ*. Several of the higher feudal barons, or magnates, in time, refused to do homage to the king. They disavowed vassalage to him; and assumed and became *de facto* sovereigns. Among these were the Dukes of Normandy, Burgundy, and Swabia. Great as was the empire of Charlemagne, he never thoroughly subjected or humbled the great feudal lords.

Louis le Gros, as early as the beginning of the tenth century, following the example which the Italian cities had first introduced during the preceding age, conferred privileges or charters of community on several towns. These charters abolished their servitude to the feudal barons, and by weakening the authority of the latter, strengthened the power of the crown of France and Navarre. Louis X., who was cotemporary with Edward Ironside and Canute the Great of England, and with Henry V. of Germany, declared by ordinances, in the early part of the fourteenth century, "that as all men were free born by

Nature, and as their country was called the kingdom of the Franks, their subjects should be enfranchised in reality upon just and reasonable conditions." His successor, Philippe, persevered in similar liberality and justice. Charles VII. established a standing army, and vanquished the power of England in France. The kingdom then continued to acquire extension over new provinces. Soon after the middle of the fifteenth century, the feudal system in France was concentrated in the despotism of the crown by Louis XI., or the Crafty: who, and his predecessor, Charles VII., were the real founders of that monarchical absolutism of the crown, which obtained its maximum power, and tyranny, under Richelieu and Louis XIV., and which, if possible, advanced, at least in corruption, immorality, and injustice, under Louis XV. With these deformities, the power to maintain tyranny and expense, began to exhibit infirmity and symptoms of decay, through the agency of convulsions and disturbances. The non-aristocratic population were ignominiously termed *le bas peuple*, or *the low people*. These, however, by industrious and skilful labour, became the source, after all, of wealth and civilisation. They first, gradually in agriculture, and then by manufactures, acquired some importance in the state. In the army, none but the aristocracy were qualified to hold commissions. The church alone opened its door to those called *the low people*, in France, as the church had done in England, and other Christian countries. The church opened its schools and its priesthood to *the low people*, chiefly because the aristocracy would not perform the ecclesiastical drudgery, though they generally managed to possess the rich benefices. This indolence was, like some other evils, a cause of good effects. Many of the priests and monks, of the *low people origin*, became scientific men, philosophers, historians, and inventors. The indolence of the aristocracy gave to the world Bede, Mathew Paris, William of Wykham, Luther, Cardinal Wolsey, and a host of intellectual men. As supplicants, *the low people* of France were admitted into the states-general, as the *tiers état*, but only "*on their knees*," as remarked by M. Thiers, "*to be taxed in mercy and in pity*" (*elle, la population, n'y parut qu'à genoux, pour être taillée à merci et miséricorde.*) Louis XIV. declared, *en cavalier*, in riding-boots and whip in hand, to the Parliament, that he would have no such miserable assemblies.

From that moment, a monarch, reigned as a sumptuous despot, whom his flatterers called the *grand*; for whose favour and gifts the nobles abandoned their feudal dignity,—the gentlemen their honour,—and the ladies their chastity; and for whose countenance, or rather for place and money, his courtiers became perfidious to all others—often to one another—and became guilty of the most unblushing and corrupt acts of vice, injustice, and intrigue. This sovereign reigned alone: "*I am the state*" (*l'état ce moi*) was his avowed maxim,—no Parliament, at least, would dare refuse to register the taxes to be levied on the industry of *the low people*; that is to say, upon his most industrious and most

virtuous subjects. The aristocracy and ecclesiastics were privileged, and paid no tax. Louis shed military splendour and luxurious brilliancy over camps and courts. The whole world was dazzled by the magnificence of his palaces, the gorgeousness of his retinue, and the fame of his campaigns.

The evil genius of England aided in feeding his wars, by that greatest of Britain's curses,—intermeddling in continental affairs. To the wars of William and Anne, and the glory of Marlborough, that able and brave commander, accomplished courtier, and skilful diplomatist, but unprincipled politician, and despicable miser, we trace the origin and rapid growth of our national debt. Louis died like a debauchee, worn out in body by his irregularities, and ruined in his finance, by his extravagance. He left this world in superstitious fear,—leaving a nation to become bankrupt, and an aristocracy, by their corruption and heartlessness, to be annihilated. He was prophetic in saying, *après moi le deluge*.

The period of the reign of this despot was, however, the Augustan age of modern Europe ; and as private vices are sometimes the cause of public benefits, arts and sciences were developed by luxury creating an use for new inventions. The aristocracy, emulated each other, and even the sovereign in displaying works of taste and *vertu*, and in the decorations and splendour of their *hôtels* in Paris, and of their *châteaux* in the provinces. The passion for the drama brought forth artists and poets, lyrists and musicians. It was an age of historians, philosophers, and accomplished divines ; of mathematicians, astronomers, architects, sculptors, and painters. The people were, however, ground to the earth by extortions, exacted from the produce of labour, industry, and skill, by the farmers' general for the king,—by the noblesse for themselves,—and by the church from its estates, its benefices, and its parishes.

Louis experienced, however, during life, his full share of mortification and impotency. A Dutch alderman named Van Beuning, who was minister from the states-general at St. Germans, used language, in treating with the minister of the grand monarch, insulting in its irony to the proudest sovereign in Europe. This alderman, it was well known, dictated in Paris the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Louis had nearly conquered, but he was compelled to evacuate Holland. He was in religion a bigot, and, guided by the advice of his confessor, Père la Chaise, and the intrigues of his numerous mistresses, especially Maintenon. He disgraced himself by his persecutions and his *dragonades*. He felt, however, when the infirmities of the body were accompanied by those of the mind, that he was at the mercy of his courtiers, priests, and women, and when he approached his dissolution, that he had become a helpless and a despised creature, exhibiting the rotten vanity of human greatness,—a wretched old wreck of humanity. The cost of Versailles,—the regency,—the national debts,—the taxes,—John Law,—the Mississippi scheme,—the immoralities of the court,—the arrogance and pro-

fligacy of the noblesse,—the administrative injustice,—all ripened those materials, which exploded in the calamities, wars, conquests, and misfortunes of the most memorable of revolutions : a revolution terrible in its elements, and atrocious in its deeds ; but a revolution instructive to mankind, although its tribunals and executions are never to be justified : a revolution which affords fearful lessons to monarchs and ministers ; but the torrent of which purified France of the most flagrant corruptions, and the most tyrannical disregard for the liberty and rights of the human race.

In studying the history of France, as well as that of other countries, four leading causes will invariably be found to terminate fatally, if not to the existing order of rulers and administrations, certainly to those who succeed them, unless remedies be early and efficaciously applied. The first is profligate expenditure ; the second, oppressive and unequal taxation ; the third, financial embarrassment,—inevitably consequent to the two first ;—the fourth, is incapacity and injustice in administrators, who disregard generally entertained public opinion : which opinion, whatever may be its defects, is never at dangerous variance with the *commonweal* of the whole nation.

No minister ever studied more wisely or practically to avoid the causes of national decline and calamity than the great Sully. Before his time the pillage of the revenue, the oppressive taxation, and the profligacy of the expenditure were enormous. By economy he restored an exhausted treasury, and relieved his sovereign from his debts, while he, by persisting in merely necessary, though not mean, economy in the expenditure, was enabled greatly to reduce the *tailles* and other taxes.

After the death of Henry and the retirement of Sully, the finances fell into disorder. The tax-gatherers carried devastation over the kingdom in their collections. Colbert afterwards followed and improved upon the reforms of Sully ; but he was driven from power by the aristocracy, whose profligacy he was determined to limit, and whose estates he would have saved for them. They would have had his body torn to pieces when he was dead, had he not been secretly buried. Corruption, and all the disorders of an impoverished treasury, prevailed when Louis XVI. ascended the throne. Turgot would have saved the monarchy, and possibly France ; but Turgot was just, and would not countenance corrupt expenditure. The noblesse disgraced him, that is to say, drove him from the administration of the finances. Disorder followed ; and then Necker was called in. He, too, was virtuous. He was persuaded that nothing could save the king, or his kingdom, unless justice and moderation in taxing the people, and economy in the expenditure, were established. He, also, was driven from the administration. The king, the queen, the noblesse, and the church *would not be saved !* No, they declared *no one should deliver them from their perils.* The revolution came and delivered them in its own stern fashion.

Where are their primogenitures, entails, titles, estates, châteaux, equipages ? Where are they all ? Alas ! their possessors would not be taught wisdom or justice. When the starving people cried, "We have no bread!" the stupid court responded, "Why do they not eat *brioches*?" (buns).

The extinction of the noblesse,—the sequestration of the church,—the general war,—for instigating the latter Austria and Germany paid dearly, as well as England, for aiding or provoking it ; the military ascendancy,—the despotism and downfall of Napoleon ; the occupation of Paris, and the restoration of the unworthy, or at least arrogant and incapable, Bourbons, all followed. The people of France, exhausted by conscriptions and by taxation, and deprived of commerce, finally submitted to the Restoration. They had not, probably, much confidence either in the Bourbons or in the aspect of European affairs. Louis XVIII., however, gave them a charter *octroyée*, and though he restored the noblesse to some extent—at least to their dignities,—and the church as far as he could ; and although he reigned in peace, he died, with the conviction that when his ashes should repose where those of all the Capets had done, before they were cast to the winds of heaven by the first revolution, his successor should not reign in tranquillity. Charles X. sent an army to support despotism in Spain ; the army and navy dazzled the country by taking Algiers ; but he proclaimed his ordinances ; and the revolution of July, 1830, drove him to England, and for ever from France.

The citizen king then *accepted* the charter proffered to him by the people. He swore to maintain it in all its integrity. The citizens, however, soon discovered that instead of their having the *régime* of his quiet, heavy majesty King Log, of whom they would say, "*Le roi règne, et ne gouverne pas*," that is, a king who reigns but does not govern, they had placed over themselves, in sovereign dictatorship, his vigorous, voracious majesty King Stork.

He did govern. He did disdain to be taught even by all his eventful experience. He had forgotten that he had ever written to a Bishop of Llandaff, "*Que des réformes faites à propos peuvent être sans danger ; mais que la résistance aux réformes se termine le plus souvent par des revolutions.*" That reforms *if made in due time, may be effected without danger ; but that resistance to reforms terminate most frequently by revolutions.* He had *forgotten, or disregarded, in power what he had written in adversity.* He discarded Lafayette, Lafitte, and others who were chiefly instrumental, after the people had hazarded, and performed, the whole revolution, in elevating him to sovereign power. He provoked, in consequence, and by calling the men, classed as *les hommes de résistance*, to his administrations and to his councils, dreadful revolts in Paris, Lyons, and in other towns. In June, 1832, the citizens of Paris were killed by the artillery, the fusillades, and the bayonets, in thousands. They shared a similar fate in Lyons, Grenoble, and elsewhere. The laws of September, with additional severity, put

into execution the ordinances which caused the revolution of 1830, and drove the elder branch of the Bourbons from the throne. Under the citizen king, the liberty of the press was abolished, the espionage of the police penetrated every domicile, and haunted every person; the prosecutions for libel were multiplied,—the military expenditure was enormously increased,—fortresses of the strongest and most formidable construction to awe Paris, secure the telegraphs, and to maintain an army, were erected;—and alliances were formed with Spain to re-establish the family compact of the Bourbons. All reforms were refused. The king and his minister reigned absolute. The people of France endured the royal invasions upon their liberties, with wonderful patience. They enjoyed peace with all nations abroad, without civil freedom at home. The elective franchise was so limited in its basis, that the minister of the interior could decide the election by the enormity of his patronage. An electoral reform was demanded and denied. A reform dinner, to be attended by grave thinking men, was resolved upon; the king and his ministers prohibited the dinner; in a few hours he ceased to reign. He and his family and his ministers fled with rapidity from France. A republic is proclaimed, with no bloodshed, but that occasioned by the rashness of the minister of the ex-king. Order has still been maintained in France, and the new deputies to the National Assembly were elected amid tranquillity and obedience to authority. But nearly all continental Europe, even Austria, is revolutionised in consequence. May anarchy be avoided,—may peace continue,—and may the government and people of England and France give no cause of inquietude to each other. Their proximity and their great advance in civilisation,—their mutual wants and the happiness of both, and the peace and freedom of mankind, render pacific relations and reciprocal confidence between France and England paramount to all other considerations.

In examining and reflecting upon the eventful history of France, the wise lawgiver, and practical statesman, will have to inquire if the constitution, laws, and administration of government and justice were adapted to the people, and to the social, educational, and material condition of France.

Under the restoration, it certainly was not. It is true that France remained divided into departments; the Code Napoléon, and the centralisation of France in Paris were retained; and all the administrative, executive, and nearly all the judicial, and military elements of the empire remained unaltered. With all this modern apparatus, the Bourbons, with a restored noblesse, reigned in the spirit and temper of the monarchs of the ancient régime. Their sentiments, and the manners of the court, even under the charter and with legislative chambers, had not advanced with the progress of events. In exile they lived in solitude; mourned for things departed; and when forced back, by foreign arms, on the people of France, they seemed not to remember any of the causes which had

driven them into adversity. They appeared to have been impervious to instruction; they imagined, or dreamed, that the French nation was still the France,—the priesthood the church,—the noblesse the aristocracy, of the ancient régime.

The old noblesse were poor, but the power of being rapacious had vanished for ever. They were hated as legitimists by the imperialists, and especially by the dukes, marshals, and the military of Napoleon's creation. The church and the priesthood, and the Jesuits, laboured to acquire ascendancy. With the sovereign, with the legitimists, and the departments, the church gained influence; but their temporalities had vanished. A new race had arisen in France,—the offspring of the revolution and of the empire,—and, of the peaceful occupations, of agriculture, manufactures and trade, during the sixteen years of the restoration. This new race constituted the nation. For the legitimists, except in La Vendée, amounted to no more than a mere shred of the whole, and those who cherished the revival of the empire, and the recall of Napoleon the 2nd to the throne, were chiefly the old soldiery and a few journalists. Those who formed the French nation were, therefore, chiefly the industrious. Prudence and the nature of their pursuits, rendered them a people tranquil in their disposition. The exceptions to this peaceable character, were some wild theorist, several reckless agitators, many of those usually industrious mechanics, and all the idlers inhabiting the narrow streets and tall houses of the faubourgs of Paris, and those of Lyons, and of some other provincial towns.

France, then, appeared as if reconciled to the perpetual legitimacy and dynasty of the Bourbons. Three of this family were seated at the expense of the British Campaigns in the Peninsula, and by the Congress of Vienna, the Battle of Waterloo, and the occupation of Paris by foreign armies, on the three thrones of France, Spain, and the Two Sicilies. They perceived not that public opinion was making a progress in the school of knowledge and civilisation, that was incompatible with the obsolete prerogatives of the last and preceding centuries. The Bourbons slept, or danced, or played whist, or enjoyed the chase, while the ground beneath them was thoroughly undermined, and filled with those combustibles, which were exploded by one act of Royal madness in July, 1830. There was one personage of the royal family who had stood apart from the elder branch. He had recovered much of his hereditary estates—his Palais Royal, Neuilly, his forests. His great care appeared to be the security of this property, and to rear an amiable and charming family, as a simple citizen. He fraternised with the new race, and had long acquired their confidence. He had fought in the army of the first revolution. This personage was the head of the young branch,—the son of Philippe Egalité of Orleans. The second revolution chose him King of the French, not as, but though a Bourbon—(*Non parceque, mais quoique Bourbon*).

He really did reign during eighteen years. He might have, and if he had

not also been infatuated with the curse of his race—that of refusing to concede a simple and just demand, made in equity and in moderation by the people, he would not now in old age have a second time been exiled from his country. He would not allow France the benefit of any electoral reform.

Let us examine what was the social and political condition of France in the beginning of February, 1848. The liberty of the press had been destroyed for fourteen years. Public deliberation was unlawful; arrests and imprisonments, and fines for political accusations, had been frequent during the reign of the citizen king. There was no *habeas corpus* law. Indefinite imprisonments, without trial, were inflicted as punishments, when it was believed that the courts would not condemn the accused: for it was known too well that the courts of law were the purest institutions in France. With this conviction, the *Procureur-general* transferred the trial of the editors of the journals, and others politically accused, to the Chamber of Peers—that assembly which Armand Carrel characterised, in its presence, as that of the judicial assassins of Marshal Ney. It was declared that there was equality, if not civil liberty in France. This equality was a fallacy; for the king could always command a large majority in the Chambers, by the agency of the Minister of the Interior; whose office was really that of supreme police-director, political inquisitor, and electoral-jobber-in chief. The following statement will show the machinery by means of which he executed these functions :—

France, before the revolution of 1789, was divided into *thirty-two provincial governments*. The kingdom was afterwards subdivided into *eighty-six departments*, and the whole formed into *military, administrative, financial, judicial, academical, and ecclesiastical divisions*. All the functionaries of these, except the priests, were, until February, 1848, under the immediate patronage of the crown. These departments have been subdivided into :—

	363 arrondissemens,	
	2,835 cantons, and	
	37,021 communes.	
Each department is under the administration of a <i>préfet</i> , viz.		386
The arrondissemens are each under that of a <i>sous-préfet</i>		63
The cantons, severally, under that of a superior <i>juge de paix</i>		2,835
The communes, under the administration of a <i>mayor and his assistants</i>		37,021
Total chief functionaries		40,205

Add police functionaries, gendarmes, &c., and chief functionaries of the finance—which alone exceeded 64,000 men—and the civil employés of France, under the centralised patronage of the bureau at Paris will be found not overrated, when the number of civil appointments have been estimated as greatly exceeding the number of electors.

In consequence of the franchise being restricted to those who paid a direct tax of 100 francs on realestate, the number of electors could not have exceeded,

at the utmost calculation, 250,000 out of a population of 35,000,000. An extension of the electoral franchise was asked for by the people and refused by the king. About as many gentlemen as often dine together at the London Tavern, determined to have a reform dinner; the king prohibited this dinner. Had he told those gentlemen, "Pray have your dinner; I have every confidence in your loyalty, and love of country and of order. Pray allow me to send you from my wine-cellar, the produce of my own vineyard, a bottle of fine sparkling, creamy champagne for each of you. You will find it excellent,—you will be convinced that *les belles idées vient de l'estomac*. Do, pray, go and enjoy your dinner and this wine, and prepare afterwards a rational plan of electoral reform for my consideration and approval." Had Louis Philippe spoken these words to the reform party, *there would have been no revolution*.

In England, where the power of the sovereign could formerly be exercised to an arbitrary extent, through his ministers and a parliament, the majority of the members of which could be elected by corruption, the spirit of revolution against the Crown has fortunately made no progress since 1688. But the principles and sentiments of civil rights, and religious freedom, have advanced on solid and successful foundations. The liberty of the press, "that palladium of all our civil and political and religious rights," was (except in Scotland) secured by the trial by jury. It is at the same time remarkable that in no Christian country in the world does the freedom of the press or civil liberty exist (unless within the last few weeks) except in the United Kingdom, and in Anglo-America and the British colonies; that is to say, wherever the English language is spoken. There are, however, many necessary reforms which require to be, and must be, effected in the affairs of the British empire, in order to do justice to the people, and to maintain public tranquillity. We shall advert to these hereafter.

There has been no liberty of the press,—that is, in its true sense, in any German, Russian, Austrian, Italian, Slavonian, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, Belgian, Danish, or Swedish country. In France, after two revolutions, and more bloodshed in the name of liberty than in any country in the world, the press was thoroughly fettered by the laws, and a newspaper could not be printed, until an enormous sum of money was deposited with the government to pay the fines which might be inflicted on its editor by the tribunals. No French citizen or foreigner could move in, or out of, or over, France without a written licence, or permission to do so from the police. If a minister of religion attempted to preach, or, if a place of worship was opened without a special licence, the first was liable to a penalty, the latter to be closed by the police. The freedom of assembling in public or private meetings was prohibited by the infamous laws of September, 1834—laws which Berryer with truth said, "put into execution the ordonnances of Charles X." The representative system was so limited by the high money rate in direct taxation, required to be paid to qualify electors, as to

amount to a mockery of the whole population. In short, although there was civil, military, and legislative equality for all, before the tribunals, and equality for all rich enough to qualify for electors, civil liberty did not exist in France. The same remarks applied with more or less severity to every state in Europe; Norway and Switzerland forming a modified exception.

Can we be surprised that there is a point below which human degradation will not sink? Can we be astonished at the explosion and revolution of February, 1848, in France, or the concessions that have been made to the people in Italy and Germany?

CHAP. VII.

HOLLAND AND BELGIUM.

THE history of the Low Countries, from the earliest period down to the present, is, perhaps, of all histories, the most prolific in events; and also the most instructive, inasmuch as it is all blended with the whole history of Europe.

Holland has owed her prosperity,—partly to necessity,—partly to her situation between great rivers, flowing down from the centre of Europe, through her small territories;—greatly to the thrift, enterprise, and bravery of her people; and, aided by these physical and moral circumstances, quite as much to her wise and liberal government and laws, and to enlightened commercial policy.

The Dutch may not, in the eyes of many, be the nation most to be admired in Europe; but they will stand high, if we judge them according to their merits, and value them on the standard of what they have done.

By their hatred to tyranny and oppression, they have afforded the first durable example of free and religious liberty to the rest of Europe. To a country almost floating on the waters, and subjected to sudden inundations, they have given a firm foundation, and raised formidable barriers to the inroads of the floods and of the ocean. They have, without *stone* or *timber* in their country, built spacious cities, and superb edifices: the foundations and superstructure of which they have carried from afar. Without possessing, at home, any one material used in the construction of a ship, they have built navies that have swept the flags of their former tyrants from off the ocean, and they have disputed the seas with the most formidable fleets. Without arable land, their cities became granaries for supplying Europe; and with a territory not so extensive as Wales, and the people at all times subjected to heavy taxation, their army, their fleet, and their commerce have enabled them to rank high among nations. Thus, a low, mossy, sandy, or marshy country, became covered with cities—the hives of industry, the homes of patriots, of philosophers, of scholars, of men of science, of artists, of statesmen, of heroes, of the persecuted from all countries, of patrons of virtue and learning. To what cause may we attribute the decline of such power, splendour, and wisdom? The author of “*La Richesse de la Holland*” says justly, “THE LEADING CAUSE OF HOLLAND’S DECLINE HAS BEEN THE HEAVY TAXATION OCCASIONED BY WARS.”

Since the peace of 1814, this country has in a great degree revived, in prosperity, although, under Napoleon, Dutch commerce was nearly annihilated, that statesman will be greatly in error, who classes the kingdom of Holland among those which now stand low in political consequence. There are great riches still in Holland. It is a country in which there is less suffering than in any other in the world: there, strictly speaking, are no poor-rates; yet those in distress are better sheltered, clad, and fed, than in any other part of Europe. Benevolent institutions for all necessary aid, whether to the orphan, the sick, the blind, or the lame, are found in every town in Holland. The principles under which all is managed are, no waste, no extravagance, no jobbing in the direction; that all who eat, if in health, must work, and for all who can work there is no excuse for being idle, as the municipal administrations are always prepared to employ the unoccupied. Begging is there a profession that cannot be allowed. How different to all this is the condition of Spain! which we have contrasted with Holland.

Taxation has, however, always been high in the United Provinces; yet the wants of the state, not monopolies, nor protection to manufactures, formed the cause of taxation. Holland has, at whatever *expense* and *endurance*, always maintained national as well as individual credit.

We have examined thoroughly the causes of wealth in this state, and find them to be no other than *persevering industry in the pursuit of gain—continued by each individual during life, and transmitted by each to his successor; and the most extraordinary frugality in the manner of living,—joined to the universally governing maxim among the Dutch, that it is a disgrace not to live upon much less than one's income.* It must not, however, be forgotten that the wars of the Dutch, which occasioned these high rates of taxation, were often unjust, and ruinous to the best interests of the country.

The rise and progress—the extraordinary prosperity, magnitude, and decline—of the navigation, trade, and manufactures of Holland—the disasters which the Dutch people have endured and overcome, and the present condition of the Netherlands, of her navigation, commerce, colonies, and finances—form altogether a great, varied, and instructive subject of investigation. There is none on which we have more ample materials; and it is rather extraordinary that instead of profiting by the example, we actually introduced into our legislation, and into our institutions several measures, which have chiefly been the cause of Holland's decline.

Holland's weakness is still her heavy debt. Yet true to their ancient and constant integrity, the Dutch have ever honoured and fulfilled their public obligations, although taxation seems to have reached its highest limits of endurance.

The navy of Holland consists of ships durably constructed, equipped, managed, and mounted, not for aggression, but for the defence of the Dutch trade and colonies. It is sufficiently powerful to render great aid to an allied

maritime state. The armed force is brave and well-disciplined, and its expenses were, for some years after the Belgian revolution, very burdensome to the country. The wise policy for Holland is neutrality, if possible, in the event of European commotions.

BELGIUM.—This kingdom, with a great comparative population, within a very compact and rich country, has, however, experienced both financial and commercial embarrassments, but public credit has been maintained. The fiscal and commercial difficulties might have been obviated, if the government had not resorted to a vicious system of protective and differential duties. There is another source of weakness in this kingdom arising from the diversities of race. There is no sympathy between the Walloons and the Flemings—between the citizens of Liege and of Ghent—those of Namur and of Antwerp. In Brussels, the citizens consist of many races. In the event of an European war, it seems impossible for Belgium not to take part with, or not to be either allied or annexed to, France; there would be no alternative, neutrality could not be maintained, except by an army of occupation. Whatever may occur in the destinies of Europe, we trust the British people and parliament will never allow British soldiers to trample over the soil of the former battle-fields of the Belgian territories.

CHAP. VIII.

THE GERMAN CONFEDERATION.

THE primitive condition of Germany is, like that of all Northern and Central Europe, obscurely known.* History, it is true, assumes a knowledge of the

* *Germany* owes this name, it is supposed by some authorities, to the Roman pronunciation of the compound *Wehr-man*, or fighting man, and hence *Wehrmania* and *Germania* of the Romans and Italians, and *Germany* of the English. The French continue to call the country *Allemagne*, after the designation given by the Romans to a numerous portion of the inhabitants, *i. e.*, the *Allemani*. The Germans name their country *Deutschland*, while in England we call the people of Holland, Dutch. Traditionally, rather than historically, the Germans came originally, 3300 years before the Christian era, from the Indian side of the Caucasus, and some writers contend that they were a tribe of Parsees, the Dshermans, or spearmen, from *dsherid*, a kind of spear, and the country from which they wandered to the west, was called Dshermania, the country situated near the eastern slopes of the Caucasian chain; that they were being led west by a great warrior called *Taut*, or Tuit (called Tuisco by Tacitus), Teut, Theut, Theod (Θεός), Deus. Hence from Teut, Teutons, and Teutonic.

The Teutons were afterwards driven westward from the southern parts of Europe, by the Scythians and other Asiatic hordes. One great division of the Teutons, led by Odin, or Othin, or Wodan, and afterwards by the Asas, sons of Odin, spread over the regions extending between the Scheldt and the Memel, and as far as the Baltic and German Ocean. This division consisted chiefly of those afterwards known as the Saxons, or swordsmen; the Longobards, or long halberts (barden) men, and some minor tribes. Odin having bequeathed Jutland to his son *Thialt*, crossed over to Sweden, and divided that country between himself and his son *Gotho*, or Gott, Goth, God (signifying the Good). His people assumed the name of Goths, Gotini, Götter, and Jutes, pronounced *Yutes*; hence Jutland. Another division, led by *Franko*, called themselves Franks, and settled over parts of the country between the Vistula and the Rhine. Hence afterwards Franconia. They afterwards penetrated into Gaul. Those led by Thor were called Thoringar (Thuringians). All the above divisions afterwards separated into numerous branches, and their ancient chiefs became their deities, Odin, Thor, and Gott. Such is the origin of the Germans as attempted to be accounted for historically; but of the truth of which we are extremely sceptical. Ignorance and superstition prevailed too long for the truth to descend through the remote and middle ages of Europe.

early events of this extensive part of Europe. But until the time of Charlemagne, we place very little reliance on the events recorded by historical writers. The inhabitants of Germany appear to have, at a remote period, consisted of numerous democracies, with a leader during war. These democracies appear also to have been all reduced to one sovereignty under the Franks; and the empire of Charles the Great, or Charlemagne, included all Germany, as well as France and part of Spain and Italy. The administration of the provinces was committed by Charlemagne to *graves* (*grafs*, or *earls*), and *marc-graves*, or *marquesses*. Among the Saxons, who were the most independent in spirit and in the assertion of liberty, he established, to curb or moderate their disposition, those episcopal sees, some of which afterwards became electorate powers. At his death, the empire was divided among his three grandsons. All Germany, as a kingdom, was the patrimony of Lewis. His son, Carolomanus, conquered Italy, and assumed the title of Roman emperor. This title was also given by the pope to Lewis, son of Charles the Bald of France. Carolus Crassus, or Charles the Gros, youngest brother of Carolomanus, succeeded as king or emperor, but he was deposed by the feudal barons in 887; from which period to the election of Francis of Austria, the last emperor of Germany, the dignity continued to be elective, and was often contested by desperate wars. In 951, when Conrad, of Franconia, was elected emperor, the dukes of Saxony, Swabia, Bavaria, Burgundy, and Lorraine, considered themselves sufficiently powerful not to yield any homage to the emperor. The Magyars (or Hungarians), and the Slavonians, after this period, ravaged some parts of Germany, and the former established their authority in Hungary, the latter in Bohemia, and in parts of Hungary, Croatia, and the Dalmatian Provinces. The three latter countries were afterwards ravaged by the Turks, who, for a long time occupied Buda, and even besieged Vienna. The Sarmatians, a Slave nation, occupied also a great part of the country on the upper branches of the Elbe. The Carolingian race of kings became extinct about 900, and Henry the Falconer was the first king, or emperor, elected of the Saxon dynasty. The election afterwards, in 1024, of Conrad Salis, Duke of Franconia, occasioned a war which devastated many parts of the empire. Some years after, on the accession, by election, of the emperor, Henry IV., Germany fell into positive degradation under the thundering bulls and excommunications of Pope Gregory VII. (Hildebrand). The prince bishops exercised, towards the end of the eleventh and in the twelfth century, extraordinary and despotic authority in Germany. Frederick Barbarossa, of Swabia, on becoming emperor, ravaged Italy, but the pope reduced him to the most humiliating degradation. Barbarossa was, however, the last emperor who really maintained imperial authority in Germany until after the Reformation. During the three centuries which preceded the Reformation, the empire never enjoyed any tranquillity. The Saxons, Fran-

conians, Swabians, Burgundians, the palatines of Wittenbach, the landgraves of Thuringia, the marquesses of Austria, the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, the Kings of Bohemia, and other sovereigns and princes, all contended and fought for power. In 1273, Rodolph, *graf*, or count of the castle of Hapsburg, in Switzerland, and Landgrave of Alsace, was elected emperor, and his family became Dukes of Austria. Rodolph strengthened his power, and prepared the causes of important subsequent events, by marrying his three daughters to three powerful German princes, Lewis, Palatine of the Rhine; Albert, Duke of Saxony, and Otto, Marquess of Brandenburg. Rodolph gave several Italian cities their freedom; and before his death he acquired extensive domains within the empire.

He died in 1291, and until his time Latin was the language of the courts, and even of private contracts. Adolphe of Nassau then became emperor, through the authority of the Prince Archbishop of Mayence. The contentions which followed, for the imperial dignity, between the Dukes of Austria and Bavaria, involved Germany in civil war for three years. The latter succeeded, but was excommunicated by the pope; and Charles, Marquess of Moravia, was elected. Lewis of Bavaria, however, maintained an imperial stationary court in his own hereditary domains. Previously, the emperors perambulated from one part of the empire to another.

After the death of Charles, the imperial dignity was refused by Edward of England (1348), and by the Marquess of Moravia. Gunther of Schwartzenburg was elected, but he was poisoned by Charles of Moravia, who had become King of Bohemia, and who (as Charles IV.) established himself in the imperial dignity, and issued the famous Golden Bull.

This bull laid down the laws and ceremonies to be afterwards maintained and observed in the election of emperors. Previously the elections were generally carried by disorder, fighting, and often through perfidy. His son, Wenceslaus, was elected, but was deposed, and the Marquess of Moravia elected. The latter died a few months after. Frederick Duke of Brunswick was then elected, but on his way to Frankfort was murdered by the Count of Waldeck, at the instigation of the Archbishop of Mayence. Rupert, Palatine of the Rhine, succeeded, and governed with energy until his death in 1410.

Sigismund, King of Hungary, brother to Wenceslaus of Bohemia, was then elected. He died in 1437, after involving himself in great disasters, by causing the death of John Huss at Constance, to whom this perfidious emperor had given *a safe conduct*.

He was succeeded by his son-in-law, Albert, the second Duke of Austria, and king of Hungary and Bohemia, who died soon after, while preparing his defence against the Turks, who had for several years become his formidable enemies.

Frederick III. of Austria was then elected, and from that period Austria continued to supply emperors to Germany until the empire was dissolved by Napoleon, and, afterwards, by the congress of Vienna.

Maximilian I. succeeded his father, and, by his marriage with Mary of Burgundy, annexed the Netherlands to Austria, and established the foundation of the empire, to which his grandson, the Emperor Charles V., succeeded.

The art of printing—the Reformation and its wars, had now begun to change the religious, social, and political system of the empire. But even before the Reformation, the history and institutions of Germany are full of events and instruction. The old popular assemblies, the *wittena-gemote*, the *folke-mote*, the various courts of justice, as the *Frey-feldt gerichte* of Saxony; and even that secret tribunal, the *Vehme gerichte*, together with many common and traditional Saxon laws and customs, are subjects of which the English legislator and statesman should not be ignorant.

The Reformation in Germany created a moral and philosophical revolution in the empire. Until after that period, the Germans had no common written language. Luther, by adopting, and writing, and printing his translation of the Bible in the Misnian dialect, bequeathed one orthography, and one meaning, to words in the German empire. This was the first union of the Germans in a moral and literary confederation. Idealism and metaphysics afterwards arose. Madame de Staël said, the empire of the land belongs to the French, of the sea to the English, of the air to the Germans. Figuratively speaking, this was not far from the truth.

The people of Germany, like those of France, were, however, early deprived of their popular rights. They were considered as thralls, or serfs, until the beginning of the present century; and, except in the free, or imperial cities, all power, and all open expression of opinion with regard to political rights, were withdrawn altogether from the people. Yet, in early times, the inhabitants of Germany and France enjoyed greater freedom than those of any other part of Europe.

The golden Bull placed the election of emperors in the power of the Archbishops of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne, of the Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Saxony, the Marquess of Brandenburg, and the King of Bohemia. It was much later that the other sovereigns of Germany became electors, and soon after the instituting of the golden bull, nearly all the great offices under the empire became, as *fiefs* were before, hereditary. Germany was afterwards formed into those circles which, with the Aulic Chamber (*Reichs-Kammer gericht*) existed until broken up by the war of the French Revolution. These circles were—1. The Austrian; 2. The Burgundian (or Austrian Netherlands, including Luxembourg and Guelders); 3. Westphalia; 4. The Palatinate of the Rhine; 5. The Upper Rhine; 6. Swabia; 7. Bavaria; 8. Franconia; 9. Lower Saxony; 10. Upper Saxony; 11. The Imperial Fiefs. The Slavonic

countries of Bohemia, Moravia, and Austrian Silesia, Prussian Silesia, and Lusitania, were not included in the circles. Each circle had its Diet, in which assembled the ecclesiastical and secular princes, prelates, counts, barons, and the representatives of the imperial cities—constituting five electoral branches or colleges.

In the Diet, which had assembled from 1663 to 1789 at Ratisbon, affairs of general imperial importance were discussed. The members at the last sitting of this Diet were—1. The College of Electors, namely, the Electors of Mayence, Treves, Cologne, the Palatinate, Brandenburg, Bavaria, Brunswick, Luneburg, and Saxony; 2. The college of the ecclesiastical and secular princes, bishops, marquesses, barons, counts, &c., namely, church 36,—secular barons, 63; and the college of imperial cities, 54 in number.

By the treaty of Campo Formio, which gave the Rhine as a frontier to France, the circle of Burgundy was separated from the empire. The Imperial Diet having been not long after dissolved, the Confederation of the Rhine, under the protectorate of Napoleon, was formed in 1807. The war of liberation broke up this confederation, and eighty-four petty sovereign German Princes were mediatised.

A new re-distribution of the sovereign dominions of Germany was carried into effect by the Congress of Vienna. Prussia gained, and Saxony lost most by this re-organisation of Germany—an organisation which abolished the imperial dignity, and opened new prospects of authority and influence to Prussia; while the minister of Austria as President of the Diet, the seat of which was established at Frankfort, was considered the supreme, though, as the experience of thirty-four years has proven, not the most effective representation of the German States.

Including Austria, Prussia, and the province of Luxembourg; and excluding Lietchenstein, lately purchased by Prussia, the Confederation, agreeably to the pact of 1815, consists politically of thirty-nine states; or forty, if Lietchenstein and Luxembourg shall continue to have votes at the Diet.

Baron Malchus arranges the German States nearly as follows;—1. Limited Monarchies, with a free Representative Constitution—as the Kingdoms of Bavaria, Saxony, and Wurtemberg, the Grand Duchies of Baden, Nassau, and Hesse; and the Province of Luxembourg, dependent on the sovereignty of Belgium, or of the Netherlands.

2. Monarchies limited by partial Representation; that is, having Provincial, or National States—as, the Empire of Austria, Prussia, Hanover, Saxe-Weimar, Saxe-Cobourg Gotha, Saxe-Meiningen-Hildbourghausen, Brunswick, the Principalities of Waldeck, Lippe-Detmold, Lippe-Schauenbourg, Swharzbourg-Rudolstadt, and Lietchenstein (the last ten have modified representations, in which the people are generally more or less represented), the Grand Duchies

of Mecklenburgh-Schwerin, Mecklenburgh-Strelitz, Anhalt-Dessau, Anhalt-Bernbourg, Anhalt-Coethen, Reuss-Schleiss, Reuss-Greiz, and Reuss-Lobenstein-Eberstoff, which latter eight have state assemblies.

3. Autocracies — Oldenburg, Schwarzburg-Sonderhausen, Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Hesse-Electoral, Holstein, Hesse-Homberg, and Kniphausen.

4. Republics—Frankfort-on-the-Maine, Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck.

The above distribution would have been correct, if Austria and Prussia, and some other states, had not thoroughly disregarded *the partial representation* attributed to them. According to the public law of Germany, the meetings of the Diet have two characters—the one, Federal (*consilium restrictum*), the other, General (*consilium plenum*).

In the federal meeting, the votes of the members are reduced to seventeen, distributed and taking rank in the following order:—1. Austria ; 2. Prussia ; 3. Bavaria ; 4. Saxony ; 5. Hanover ; 6. Wurtemberg ; 7. Grand Duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt ; 8. Hesse-Electoral ; 9. Baden ; 10. Duchy of Holstein (Denmark) ; 11. Grand Duchy of Luxembourg ; 12. Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar, and the three Saxon Duchies of Cobourg, Meiningen, and Altenbourg ; 13. Duchies of Brunswick and Nassau (Biberich) ; 14. Grand Duchies of Mecklenburgh-Schwerin and Strelitz ; 15. Grand Duchy of Oldenburgh, Duchies of Anhalt Dessau, Bernburgh, and Coethen, and the Principalities of Schwarzburgh, Sonderhausen, and Rudolstadt ; 16. The Principalities of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, and Sigmaringen, Lichtenstein, Reuss (the elder and younger branch), Lippe-Detmold, and Schaumburg, Waldeck, and the Landgrave of Hesse-Homberg ; 17. The free towns of Frankfort, Hamburg, Lubeck, and Bremen.

In the general council, the number of votes attributed to each of the foregoing sections are thus distributed :—Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, each four votes ; Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11, each three votes ; Nos. 12 and 13, each four votes ; No. 14, three votes ; No. 15, six ; No. 16, nine ; and No. 17, four votes—making altogether sixty-nine votes. Each of these sections is represented by an ambassador; the whole are under the presidency of Austria, and the vice-presidency of Prussia.

In the *consilium restrictum*, all matters are discussed and predetermined. In the *consilium plenum*, the representatives merely vote by yea and no. Thus the great states, which monopolise eleven out of seventeen voices, insure themselves a preliminary majority, and render illusory the votes of the petty states, in the *consilium plenum*, which may be regarded as a mere official ceremony. “ I leave to the consideration of every man of sense (observes Dr. Friedlander) to judge of the ridiculous situation of these small states, who are thus the mere executive tools (*exécuteurs des hautes œuvres*) of Austria and Prussia.”

“ In the full council, a majority of two-thirds is necessary ; in the federal meeting, a simple majority suffices. The presence of at least nine members is urgent. Austria has the casting vote in the event of equality.

“The Confederation (it is supposed) never interferes in the affairs of the different States but in the event of the abuse of power, or to guarantee the respective institutions, or when public tranquillity is menaced. Then, and on the demand of any given ruling power, it interferes to re-establish its sovereign rights. The Confederate States have come to an understanding as to the means necessary to be employed to remove any difficulties that may arise amongst them, without having recourse to armed force. These forces consist (1835) of a total of 301,637 men, divided into ten army corps, giving an effective of 222,119 infantry, 11,694 light troops, 43,900 cavalry, 21,717 artillery and train, 3,017 engineers and pontoon-men, with 612 field-pieces. The fortresses of the Confederation are Mayence, Luxembourg, and Landau.”

Besides the seventeen envoys, Austria has a counsellor of legation, secretary, and attaché ; and most of the other counsellors and secretaries. There is also a director of the chancery ; a military commission of three members ; three commandants of the army ; and governors of the fortresses of Mayence, Luxembourg, and Landau. France, Great Britain, and Russia, have representative ministers at Frankfort. Such was the Germanic Diet from the date of the Congress of Vienna, to the month of February, 1848. In May, 1848, we have a representative German National Assembly sitting at Frankfort ; and at the same time a National Assembly, elected by universal suffrage, debating in Paris.

Prussia, though naturally a poor country with an ungenial climate, had, notwithstanding the disasters of the fatal battle of Jena, gained an extraordinary ascendancy and power ; and it was evident that this power and ascendancy was chiefly to be attributed to the wise financial system and prudent economy established by Frederick the Great, and strictly maintained and improved upon by all his successors ; especially by the late king. Nor must we forget a vital event in the progress of civilisation—that of emancipating the serfs and of abolishing the *corvées* in Prussia—by the late sovereign of that kingdom.

The present King of Prussia has granted a representative constitution to his kingdom. The revolutions in France and the Italian states, have overwhelmed the old stupifying systems of the Austrian empire, and of the most absolute of the German states. The recent atrocities committed at Naples may probably lead to the extinction of the Bourbon dynasty. A family which, by its inter-marriages within the last year, no doubt exulted in the belief that their compact was fully re-established on three thrones. In truth, all Europe has entered upon an *epoch of transition*. The revolution, in regard to political and civil rights, will inevitably throughout Germany, embrace in the near future, the great question of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. Prussia stands in the high and proud condition of being invested with the power of coming forth as the intellectual regenerator,—the great pacificator of Germany. May the sovereign

in his wisdom, may his ministers in the responsibility of their administrative authority,—and, may the people by their moderation, joined to energy and justice in their acts and conduct, be found worthy of the circumstances of the age, and of their country. In the social, moral, political, and national condition of Germany, may the *real* supplant the *ideal*.* Most ardently do we desire that these blessings may be included in *the destinies* of Germany.

CHAP. IX.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

THE prosperity and power of Great Britain have been usually considered as greatly owing to the navigation laws and other fallacious laws.

In the states of continental Europe, especially France, Germany, and Austria, the *example of England, however unsound, is always referred to by the advocates of the fallacies of legislative protection to national industry, ingenuity, and enterprise.* We state boldly, that England owes not her prosperity to that specious legislative protection, which other nations extol as sagacious wisdom; or, as grasping maritime, and commercial monopoly, on the part of the rulers and law-givers of Britain. We repeat that which we have frequently endeavoured to prove, and which, happily, although the progress of conviction has been slow, is now very generally believed in the United Kingdom, and which will be, in the progress of civilisation, at no remote period, as generally entertained by all countries,—but which foreign statesmen, and foreign writers have very seldom admitted. We repeat that England has attained her prosperity,—not by the aid,—but in defiance of her illiberal commercial system and navigation laws; that England has owed her wealth, and power, and even her liberty, to her geographical position; to her many commanding harbours; to her fisheries, which originated her naval architecture and her fleets; to the vast power of production, yielded by her mines of coal and iron—*interstratified* for the coal to smelt the iron;—to the coal fields, generally, of the north, central, and western counties, and of Wales; to the coal and iron of the Clyde; to the salt mines of Cheshire and Gloucestershire; to the copper and tin mines of Cornwall and Wales;—to her geological formation, from her granite and limestone, to the chalk and sandstone;—to the variety, elevations, and depressions of her soils, rising, from the rich, low lands of Kent, Essex, Norfolk, and Lincolnshire—from the fertile valleys and plains of the south, and of the central counties, up to the pastures on the heights of the South down,—on the hills of Devonshire and Somersetshire;—and up to the peaks of Derby, and to the mountains of Wales and Cumberland:—to soils and

* See full details of Germany hereafter.

pastures, varying from the straths, and dales of Scotland, up to the brows of the Cheviot and Pentland hills, and, north to Bredalbane, to the Grampians, and to the highlands;—to the materials for building, which her stone, lime, and slate quarries, and her clays, and her woods have yielded;—to her oak, and other forests, which enabled her to build war fleets, her merchant ships, her coasting vessels, and her fishing boats, until wood, when wanted could have been brought to her ports and ship yards from afar;—to the very inconstancy of a climate, not liable to great heat nor to intense cold:—and superadded to these great natural advantages—to those political, moral, and inventive elements, without which all other blessings would have been of minor power:—that is to say—to civil liberty, under the constitution of England, founded on the Magna Charta, and strengthened and secured by the petition of Rights, the Habeas Corpus Act, the Bill of Rights, and the Act of Settlement;—to the perseverance and industry of her people;—to the enterprise of her manufactures, and the skill of her artisans; to the Bridgewater canal, and the canals which it originated;—to the steam-engine, spinning-jenny, mule, and power-loom;—to the adventurous spirit of her princely merchants;—and to the hardy intrepidity of her brave mariners:—To all these physical, and moral elements, does Great Britain owe her power and prosperity,—her manufacturing and commercial wealth,—her ability, in the maintainance of her power and credit, to pay high taxation and high rents:—in despite of monopolies, protective duties, and dear food;—in despite of all these *banes to national prosperity—banes to national progress*, which all countries would act wisely by cancelling from their legislation.

Nor must it be forgotten, that England also escaped, on her own soil, the perpetual wars which devastated, and prevented the manufacturing industry of the continental states of Europe; and although her taxation, and her public debt, have been carried to an incredible height, and her people compelled to pay far higher for maintaining existence, than those of any other country; yet the genius and character of her people, and the natural advantages of the British Islands, have enabled her, in defiance of Napoleon's wars and decrees—in spite of high taxation and dear food, to enrich herself, so far, as to bear all her war burdens. Her people were enabled to do all this, and to pay those high prices for bread and butchers' meat, which served to yield high rents to the landlords of the United Kingdom;—not by restrictive legislation, but by home industry, and by maritime enterprise,—by a most profitable carrying-trade,—and, by throwing her manufactures, with great gain, into all the markets of the world: while the industry of other European countries was paralysed by the insecurity occasioned by desolating invasions.

In time of war, the harbours of England gave her military, and commercial, fleets, an incalculable advantage over those of continental Europe. Lying west of

the continent, the prevailing winds, which prevented foreign ships from putting to sea, enabled those of the east coasts, of Britain, and Ireland, to leave their ports ; those of the west coasts being at the same time safe, from their position, as well as from the protection of our ships of war, cruising in, and off, the entrance of the English and Irish Channels. Thus, while the nations of the continent were disturbed in all their industrious pursuits, Great Britain enjoyed, from her geographical situation and commanding harbours, peace at home, and the opportunity of supplying the rest of the world with her domestic fabrics and the produce of her colonies. In defiance of the Berlin and Milan decrees, our manufactures found their way into the heart of Germany, and Italy; while, even in France, we clothed the soldiers of Napoleon ! Thus, although taxed, beyond all possible calculation of endurance, the natural advantages of England, and the enterprise of her people, enabled her to withstand, in magnificent splendour, the convulsions that shook the continent to its foundation. So far as respect the past.

Since the peace of 1815, the moral, political, agricultural, manufacturing, maritime, commercial, and financial conditions of the different states of Europe and America, have been yearly changing their aspects ; and, with the exception of the Spanish American republics, and the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, advancing in knowledge, and in productive industry. Two great considerations are, in consequence, presented to us, with respect to national wealth and power. The *first* is, that the United Kingdom must depend upon a remunerative demand, in the markets of the world, for the products of her industry, in being able to sell the article wanted at as low as or at a lower price than the same kind of article can be elsewhere produced in sufficient abundance for the demand. *Second*, that as high taxation and extravagant expenditure burdens and paralyses productive industry, it becomes the first duty of a government to reduce and reform the whole system of taxes and expenses.

The history of financial embarrassments, and of the consequent political and social disasters, may be a less entertaining study than the narratives of campaigns, or the annals of political intrigues,—but those statesmen, who would administer wisely and successfully the affairs of nations, must understand the more material interests, as well as the moral and political wants of the people.

In estimating the elements of a *just, practical, and durable legislation*, and *the strength, or infirmities of nations*, we should not only be well acquainted with the physical power and resources, and also the social circumstances, of our own, but also with those of other nations, as regard their geographical position, configuration, natural productions, population, and their social, political, and educational state. An able legislator should understand the political and moral power of nations, so far as their respective governments may, in a comparative view, be considered as advancing or retarding national prosperity,

or as limiting or extending public liberty and individual happiness. Then, and not before, in the present age of the world, can he comprehend in legislative usefulness, *the wise adaptation of those elements of national power, which comprehend the income and expenditure; the occupations of the people; and the productions of labour.* The greatest, certainly the most fatal error, into which rulers and statesmen are betrayed from their position, is their overlooking the progress of human intelligence. From the day the printing-press was put to work, evidences of the fatal consequences of this oversight are unfortunately too palpable,—too pregnant with calamity. The *date of the first operations* of the steam-engine ought, also, to have been a signal to direct the attention of the rulers and statesmen of Europe, and the rest of the world, to a preparation founded, on a forecast of the natural effect of that irresistible cause of prolific future events. The philosophy of the steam-engine embraces the moral and political, as well as the mechanical progress, of civilisation, power, and liberty. This power diminishes, in the first place, the pain and penalty inflicted on the race of Adam—"By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou earn thy bread;" for, while it lessens the evils, it multiplies the products that are useful to mankind. By its gain upon time over distance, it morally reduces the space between the places, and the people, and the nations of the earth; and by the same rule, it lengthens the moral and useful duration of life, by calculating time according to the number of acts which mark our existence, and not by the hours which compose the period of our physical sojourn on earth.

By rendering the intercourse of nations easy, cheap, frequent, and certain,—by its multiplying and diffusing the productions of art and of science, and of the intellect, through the press,—by its power of interchanging rapidly the ideas of mankind and the productions of the earth, and of manufactures, it forms the most effectual means of *imparting knowledge, subverting despotism, repressing anarchy, and maintaining order.* Neither let it be overlooked that by means of this new and mighty agency, all possible good may be extended from, and all possible evil inflicted by, one country to or upon the other.

The warning thrust upon us by the progress of events in continental Europe ought to be instructive to the government, and to the legislators, as it will assuredly be to the people of the United Kingdom. That we have moral, social, financial, and commercial difficulties to meet and overcome, is a truth that can neither be concealed nor neglected. No prejudice, no fallacy, no prescriptive right, no monopoly of ships or of trade, or of agriculture, or of commerce, can in any country stand hereafter in opposition to great national interests. The history, of all countries,—of the prosperity or decline of states,—of the populousness, or of the decay of cities, affords abundant proof that when trade thrives agriculture prospers, that wars embarrass all countries, and that the expense of wars subject

the people to oppressive taxes long after those wars have ceased. *It is the vital policy of England to avoid intermeddling with the affairs of other states,—to be neutral, as she may safely be, from her geographical position,—to avoid war,—to be in an efficient defensive state,—never to assume the aggressive, except to recover positive rights, or, in order to maintain, on just grounds, the open freedom of her equal natural rights to the maritime highways of the seas and coasts, and to the markets of the world.*

CHAP. X.

ADMINISTRATIVE CONDITION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

GREAT measures, which have, not improbably, saved the country, were introduced and carried through Parliament, with energetic and skilful administrative abilities for business, by Sir Robert Peel. He found a deficient treasury, and left it with a surplus revenue. His successors have been less fortunate; but, we must not forget that their administration has had to contend with the national calamities, of an Irish famine,—a most deficient harvest,—a commercial and monetary crisis, effected by various causes,—and, with the expensive perplexities, of that *fatal*ity, which has constituted THE DIFFICULTY of every government—THE CONDITION OF IRELAND.

Without reference to persons,—to those in power, or to those out of power, the necessities of the people and of the country are great, and the hour, for *feeble, or mere expediency measures*, has passed away. The people and the country will, and must, claim a practical and efficient attention to the social, political, and material circumstances of the British empire.

The public mind is becoming hourly better instructed; and, day by day, more thoroughly convinced that, notwithstanding the disasters of bad harvests, a commercial crisis, and the burdens of eight hundred millions of debt, with the most unequal and oppressive taxation to which a people has ever been subjected, the United Kingdom is rich and powerful, and will readily overcome all casual distress, *provided,—*

That the affairs of the country shall have the blessing of being administered by a wise, just, and capable government.

That there shall be great economy in the expenditure.

That there shall be a searching inquiry with regard to all monies corruptly granted, and that no part of the taxes shall be paid except for supporting national credit, and for services actually performed.

That there shall be a finance minister, who has the perception, knowledge, judgment, and resolution to carry into effect a practicable and just reduction of the public expenditure, and who will grapple honestly, and fearlessly, and intelligibly with the whole question of an equitable revision of the taxation.

That there shall not be a finality with regard to the present state of the representation of the people in Parliament ; and lastly,—

That there shall not be that exclusion, which the aristocracy have maintained around the throne, and which prevents the sovereign from knowing only the oligarchy, who prevent her from knowing the people.

CHAP. XI.

THE CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY QUESTION.

1. THE ELEMENTS OF POWER, SECURITY, AND HAPPINESS, WHICH WE POSSESS AND ENJOY. 2. THE DANGERS AND THE WANTS WHICH MENACE US. 3. REMEDIAL MEASURES.

1. Let us admit the most ample allowance for the evils and disadvantages which are experienced, as vicious or oppressive in their operation, restriction, or tendency ; and let us then ask,—what are the counteracting advantages, and blessings, which we possess and enjoy ; and, doubtless, we will, if we discriminate, with clear and impartial judgment, conclude, that we are in a state of greater security, and have in the aggregate more durable elements of civil liberty, religious freedom, public order, and personal happiness, than the people of at least any country in Europe.

No populous country has so advantageous a geographical position, and configuration, for security against external aggression as well as for maritime commerce,—no country has, so conveniently distributed, in abundance, those two great materials of power, coal and iron,—we have also copper, lead, and tin ;—abundant quarries of building materials—of stone, slate, and lime,—we have a soil and climate yielding the most useful crops,—we have meadows, and pastures, feeding superior herds and flocks,—the country is in many parts tolerably covered with timber,—and the most nutritious and delicious fish swarm along our shores, in such plenty, as might, possibly, in case of need, supply food to the whole population. We have a people whose genius is enterprising and bold,—industrious and inventive ; and whose dispositions and associations, while jealous of their personal and public rights, lead them to discriminate between despotism and slavery,—between liberty and licentiousness,—between freedom and anarchy.

The groundwork of all,—the origin of the blessings we possess, must be traced to the Saxon race having planted, at least some, leading principles of the ancient Saxon freedom in a country, the natural condition of which as to position, climate, soil, and powers of production, demanded that activity, and created that hardy industry and independent character, which distinguish the people. The Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, and other great acts, which form our constitution, and the safeguards of our liberties, arose out of, or were necessities

concurrently demanded, by local circumstances, and by the genius, disposition, and pursuits of the people ; and which were conceded, often with reluctance by, if not extorted through force from, the sovereign, or from the barons. We have already detailed the real causes of the prosperity of our agriculture, manufactures, navigation, and commerce.

We have therefore shown that we possess natural, social, and political advantages of the highest order ; and notwithstanding a crisis of unfortunate commercial, monetary, and colonial disasters, the British empire, in an aggregate estimate, is powerful and wealthy. To this general estimate, individual wretchedness is, we must admit, lamentably extensive, as an exception to our power and prosperity. That there will ever be a thorough exemption from calamity among the whole people is, we fear, more to be wished for, than for us ever to expect its realisation. Such a *millenium* of happiness would be impossible, while mankind retains any portion of human infirmity.

Considering, however, the state of Great Britain, of the North American provinces, of the Peninsula of India, and of Australasia, the elements of power and prosperity are evidently great, and with energetic discretion, and with wisdom in our administration, there is no serious cause of alarm that may not be practically, and justly, obviated and removed.

Having briefly adverted to the elements of power, security, and happiness which we possess, we are called upon to attend to a more urgent duty. In the first place to consider what are the dangers to which those elements are exposed ; and in the second, to inquire, if our rulers and our Parliament have the power to remove the causes and obviate the possibly mischievous effects of those dangers.

1. EXTERNAL DANGERS. The events which have occurred in Europe during the present year, 1848, alarm the timid, the rash, and the ignorant. They consider that these convulsions, or changes, threaten danger to England. Never was there a greater fallacy. Those events, with their antecedents, may usefully instruct, but need in no degree terrify us.

If ever there was a period, in the history of these kingdoms, when we were thoroughly secure from continental European danger, the year 1848 constitutes that epoch. The Queen of England is no longer sovereign of Hanover. *That fact is a great blessing.* The only spot possessed by England of continental Europe is a great rock, jutting well out into the sea, as an overawing, formidable, impregnable fortress. No moral, political, or material cause does, or ought, to exist for embroiling this country in the affairs of continental states. Non-interference is our true and wise policy ; and, however much the disposition for interference on the part of our present minister for foreign affairs is, by some persons, apprehended, we have too much confidence in his patriotism, knowledge, experience, and sagacity to feel uneasy with regard to his foreign policy. We believe

his policy to be *that this country shall not be endangered, but respected by foreign states.**

We consider that our naval power is fully sufficient to protect our shores, our commerce, and our colonies against all aggression or danger, and we are among the last who would consent to reduce the strength of that power. We consider, however, that it might have been rendered far more efficient at far less expense; and we have reason to believe that measures are now being adopted to carry into practical operation economy in our naval expenditure, and at the same time maintain efficiency in our naval construction. There is, therefore, little evil to apprehend from external dangers.

2. *Colonial dangers.*—The British sugar colonies have, as far as we can ascertain from their history, been always the victims of mal-administration and mismanagement. Downing Street has long and grievously sinned against the West Indies, and not a little against the Mauritius, as well as towards other colonies.

Too much, and very ignorant, governing has been the general policy of the Colonial Office. We are far from saying that this policy is now entertained. Very far from it. Both the late secretary of state, and the present secretary of state, for the colonies, have, and do view, the colonial system with far more practical and enlightened principles. But we fear the wounds previously inflicted are very deep, and difficult to heal. They never can be cured by the fallacy of protection. The delusion of differential duties, would at most only protract, not eradicate the malady.

Concurrent with colonial maladministration, there prevailed a ruinous system of management, agency, and expenditure, on the part of the planters and proprietors of the sugar colonies. They had their cycles of distress at all times, before the fact of negro emancipation.† The last act deprived them of *the same human machinery—of the same powers of production*, as were and are possessed by the competing sugar growers of Cuba, Porto Rico, and Brazil. There is, however, no remedy but one, the removal of all restriction in the way of obtaining free labour; without this remedy the abundant, cheap, and free labour of Eastern India would alone ruin the sugar culture of the West Indies: and it would do so more rapidly and effectually if a differential duty were re-established against foreign sugars. The general and effectual remedy for all colonial dangers and perplexities will be to free them from all restrictions on their navigation, commerce, and free labour. To allow them to manage all their own local affairs, on their paying all their executive and administrative expenditure. In fact, the

* Probably no minister was ever so unjustly attacked as Viscount Palmerston has been. The very wild exaggerations of those charges of treason, &c., utterly disproved them.

† See Bryant Edwards' "History of the West Indies," Beckford's "History of Jamaica," Anderson's "History of Commerce," Parliamentary Papers, &c.

whole colonial system of management and interference demands a thorough change from its former administrative, arrogant, and fallacious policy. The necessary change is simple and practical, and ought therefore to be successful, just, and satisfactory,—both to the mother country and to the colonies.

India may be considered in a secure condition. The system of trade, as hitherto conducted by Indian mercantile houses, has evidently been hazardous, and conducted upon extravagant and expensive principles. The late crisis, and the numerous failures, ought to, and we believe will, create an economical and consequently a less perilous and more regular system of trade.

The Island of Mauritius, and most of our other colonies may profit by the example of India, and by the experience of their own misfortunes.

Lamenting as we do the losses and sufferings of the colonists, and of their connexions in the United Kingdom, we do not apprehend future evils from colonial dangers: provided we act justly.

3. INTERNAL DANGERS.—Having no external dangers to alarm us, we come to inquire—Have we internal dangers? We are compelled to confess we have.

Among these are, *the condition of the labouring classes*, and THE CONDITION OF IRELAND QUESTION. The first depends upon the remunerative employment of the people,—and that employment can only find naturally legitimate occupation in agriculture, in manufactures, in handicrafts, in trade, navigation, fisheries, public works, and, to some extent, in domestic service. These fields of remunerative and continuous employment depend so thoroughly upon good or bad harvests, home and foreign demands for our fabrics, and upon so many contingent circumstances, that we can never fix any absolute standard for such employment. But we may apply some alleviating remedies such as relieving the fields of employment from various restrictions and oppressive burdens, and lessening the taxes upon the articles for which the wages of labour are paid, &c. This policy has certainly been adopted, though not perfected.

The condition of Ireland question is a difficulty beyond all ordinary degrees of perplexity. Equal justice must be fully extended to Ireland, as it has been to a very great degree by the present, and by the three preceding governments. Let church grievances be adjusted, and all religious disqualifications completely abolished; let none of the revenues of Great Britain be demanded for expenditure in Ireland; let Ireland provide a sufficient revenue for its own expenditure; let Ireland maintain its own poor; and above all, with an established and perfect system of equal justice, and of the equality of all before the law, let all in Ireland become submissive to the laws, and never let those laws of the land be outraged with impunity. These measures are all absolutely necessary for the security of all persons, and the peace, welfare, and happiness of Ireland.

The other dangers of the United Kingdom, arise from not doing those things in time, which if not anticipated by, will be forced from, whoever may for the

time hold the responsibility of its government. Among these things, which will become the *necessities of concession, as they are assuredly, rights of national, moral, political, and social justice*—are *financial reforms, electoral reforms, law reforms, administrative reforms, ecclesiastical and educational reforms, and reforms in poor laws, and in charitable and other institutions*. We have no space to enter upon these in detail, and we must conclude with a brief chapter *on a thorough reform of the most pressing of all dangers, we mean a reform of the taxation and the expenditure of the United Kingdom*.

CHAP. XII.

BRIEF REMARKS ON THE FINANCIAL CONDITION OF GREAT BRITAIN.

THE question of the most immediate and of the most pressing consideration, that which of all others *involves, under our artificial system of public and private wealth, the most imminent dangers to the state, is that of the heavy and unequal burdens, and the increased expenditure during a period of peace with all the world*.

The history of the British revenue, expenditure, and debt, though dry in its materials, and tedious and repulsive in its details, has only been consecutively written down to the beginning of the present century.* We cannot now enter into minute details; we are necessarily compelled to be brief. *We hold it as the first great principle of moral, political, and public integrity, to maintain the national credit; we consider that the minister who would consent to any measure which would endanger that credit, as guilty of the greatest administrative and public immorality. We consider it at the same time an immoral and public dereliction of duty to shrink from a searching and thorough investigation of the expenditure, in order to ascertain how far that expenditure can be reduced, and therefore enable him to reduce the amount, and render equitable the imposition of, the public taxation.*

It is useless for us now to advert to the great public debt which constitutes our financial nightmare. It was chiefly borrowed to maintain unnecessary wars—we have consented as a nation to its expenditure; and, under such circumstances does our accountability now stand, that we must, or be eternally dishonoured, pay the interest of this debt; which in fact, by changing hands, and becoming a mere fund for trusts, and other safety investments, has assumed, in every practical sense, the character of a great national savings' bank.

The interest, therefore, of this debt constitutes a yearly public burden of nearly 29,000,000*l.* sterling, which England and Scotland (for Ireland pays none of it) must submit to pay. It can only be diminished by reducing the interest,

* By Sir John Sinclair, whose history of the revenue down to 1805, is a most valuable work, though it abounds with fallacious opinions. Don Paul Prebrer, a Spanish gentleman, wrote, in his own language, an historical but incomplete sketch of the British revenue down to a latter period. It was translated into French, and I believe into English, but it attracted little attention.

when the interest of money is lower than the interest of the funds, or by paying off a part of the capital. We see little prospect of the latter, nor would it be just for the present generation to tax itself highly for the benefit of *posterity*. *The reverse has been the conduct of our progenitors.* The expenditure may, however, be greatly reduced.

1st. By strict economy in the estimates and miscellaneous expenditure—not by miserable reductions of the salaries of clerks, &c.

2nd. By an equitable adjustment of all moneys corruptly granted as perpetual pensions, &c.

3rd. By the abolition of all useless offices.

4th. By the abolition of all sinecures whatever.

5th. By relieving the revenues of England and Scotland of the payment of the great deficiency between the Irish revenue and the expenditure of Ireland.

The next great financial reform, and one that will be forced upon Parliament, is a *thoroughly equitable system of taxation*.

The neglect of financial reform, we consider as the most formidable of all dangers to all classes—all credit, the value of all property, real or otherwise, depends for safety on the maintenance of the public credit. *Failing to provide the revenue to pay the quarterly dividends, would constitute a national bankruptcy.*

It requires but little inquiry to be convinced that *the calamity of a stoppage of the payment of the dividends, or interest of the national debt would break up every monetary and commercial engagement in the United Kingdom.* *The rights of property, whether in lands or moveables would be no longer sacred.* *Bank stock, Indian stock, and all other stock, together with private banks and private credit would all be involved in the general calamity of a national failure.* *The social calamity would be terrific.*

Take a contingent example.

In the city of London and other large towns, few families keep more ready money in their houses than may be sufficient for the week's expense; few have more than the day's provision in their larders. As private credit would fall with public credit, the grazier could not trust the butcher, nor the latter the families he supplied. The farmer would not trust the corn-dealer, nor the latter the miller, nor the miller the baker, consequently, the latter must cease to supply his usual customers. So on with all other trades and credits. Therefore at whatever amount of taxation, the national credit of England must and will be maintained.

Therefore the general weal of the empire, in regard to employment, to agriculture, to trade, manufactures, navigation, and revenue, demands a most searching inquiry into the expenditure, a most equitable revision of taxation, and ought to be taken up by Parliament, without reference to party or politics, but with the earnest honest purpose of legislating for the solid and permanent good and safety of our common country.

The foregoing chapters have been written deliberately, on mature consideration : free from party, or personal feelings, and with the earnest desire to draw the attention of our rulers, whoever they be, of our Parliament, and of all our fellow-men, in these kingdoms, *to the lessons afforded us by the wisdom or folly of foreign countries,—to the great blessings and advantages which we enjoy,—to the dangers which menace our happiness and security,—and to those plain, temperate, yet, efficient remedial measures, which we believe to be practical, and which in reforming will not destroy, or weaken,—but which will uphold and strengthen the PALLADIUMS OF OUR CIVIL, RELIGIOUS, AND POLITICAL LIBERTIES.*

THE END.

MacGregor, John

Sketches of the progress of civilisation and public liberty

Lond. 1848

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